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Phonology
of the
Patais of Achy (Somme)

by
Thomas Logie

Johns Hopkins University. 1890.

Dissertation
presented for the degree
of
Doctor of Philosophy.

1890.

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Signs used in the transcription.

Vowels

i = i in *épî*

é = é in *bébé*.

ai = ai in *faire, plaine*.

ê = ê in *retard*.

o = o in *ciel*.

ï = a sound midway between é and e.

â = â in *maître*.

u = u in *âme*.

ou = ou in *beau*.

ö = ö in *soi*.

õ = õ in *poë*.

ü = ü in *oui*.

û = û in *lune*.

ü = ü in *plus*.

ï = i in *fiat* in *lien*. IV = 1. in *ing* *long*

Nasal vowels:

ã = ã in *san*.

œ = œ in *sein*.

\tilde{a} = a in humble

\tilde{o} = o in son

\tilde{e} = e in sévère

$\tilde{æ}$ = a semi-nasal sound, midway
between the pure vowel \tilde{e} , and the
nasal sound of \tilde{a} , $\tilde{æ}$.

The consonants

b = b in balance

c' = ch in English church.

d = d in sidique

f = f in frère

g = g in garde.

h = h in English home.

k = c in campagne.

l = l in l'année.

m = m in mander.

n = n in napper.

ñ = gn in le sago.

p = p in père.

r = r in rue.

S = c in ciel.

S̃ = ch in chat.

T = t in terre.

V = v in voleur.

Z = s in casier.

Z̃ = j in jamais

Introduction

The differences which exist in the spoken language of France in different districts have been caused by two sets of influences, the one arising from a condition already existing before the Latin language was spread over the Gallic territory by the conquering Romans, and the other due to events which occurred after that language had gained a firm footing there. From the variety which exists to-day in the language of any speech district, we are justified in assuming that a like variety existed in the Celtic language of France before

the Romans arrived there the Latin language, coming in contact with a language thus variegated, was necessarily influenced in one part, in a different way from the influence it felt in another part. In this way the 'Neo-Latin' language was broken up into dialects.

With the wandering of the Germanic tribes, the second set of influences commenced. In one part, the Burgundians settled; in another, Salian Franks; and, later, came the Northmen. The dialect spoken by each of these had a different influence on the language with which it came in contact. This intensified the work of differentiation wrought by the Keltic.

The common mode of classifying dialects is the geographical one, - a mode far from satisfactory, for linguistic peculiarities always overlap geographical boundaries. A more rational mode of classification is that adopted by Chomsky, in his 'Dictionnaire des

grouping together in one dialect group of all communities which have certain peculiarities in common. But as each particular phenomenon would thus give a separate dialect group, Paul Meyer¹ objects to any classification at all. He considers the popular language of France as an ensemble which it is arbitrary to divide into dialect groups. While it is true, as he states, that the linguistic peculiarities of one district dovetail into what is called the dialect of a neighboring district, and that often there is no single characteristic which can be set down as belonging exclusively to what is known as a certain dialect, yet the sum of all the phenomena of one district compared with the sum of all the phenomena of a neighboring district renders a direct separation between these two districts, not arbitrary, but rational.

¹ Rev. IV. 294-6, V. 504-5. ² Lucili Arch. Glott. II. 385.

It is for this reason that I speak of a record direct, and of a picture; not indirect.

After the dawn of European history, the first people found dwelling in the territory which, afterwards, became known as Picardy, were the Belgians, — a branch of the Celtic family. These occupied the country between the Seine and the Rhine, the Vosges mountains and the Ocean. With regard to the degree of mixture which existed between this people and the Germans, nothing is known before the wandering of the German tribes commenced.

The Celtic tribes which Caesar found inhabiting the territory, which, under Roman rule, was known as *Belgica Secunda*, were the Luessiones (around Soissons), the Bellovae (of Beauvais), the Ambrones (of Amiens and Poitou), and the Vermandui (of the Vermandois). All these tribes were conquered

during Caesar's expedition of 57 B.C., and, from that time, the work of romanising went on.

From the time of the Roman conquest to the time of the Frankish invasion, in the 5th century, large numbers of Germans were employed as mercenaries in the Roman army, and, at the close of a war, these were frequently paid off by grants of land, on which they settled as colonists. Such a Germanic colony was formed at -duciens, but, of the source of the Germans who composed it, nothing is known.

After more than four centuries and a half of Roman rule, came the advances of the Germanic hordes on Gaul, and, in the year 406, -duciens and the surrounding country fell into the hands of the Suevi, Vandals and Alans.

Meanwhile, the Franks had been continually

encroaching upon the north eastern part
of the Gallie territory, and, in the year 355,
they occupied a space of 300 stadia on
this side the Rhine, and had devastated the
whole region for three times that distance in
front of them. By the end of the fifth
century, the whole of Belgica Secunda
was under the Frankish power.

During the time of Charlemagne, the Saxons
invaded the eastern part of France, but were
promptly repelled, and do not appear to
have made any settlements.

Then came the incursions of the Norwegians
on the north coast; their vessels sailed
up the Somme, and the effect of their
invasion is seen on the language.

The province of Picardy now passed
into the possession of the Counts of Flanders.
It was taken by the English during the
reigns of Philip IV, and Charles IV, but it

does not appear that any English settlements were made, and the occupation was entirely a military one. It was restored to the French crown in 1468, under Louis XI, and since that time has remained a part of the French dominion.

The ethnological description of this province has not materially changed from that time to this. The slight changes which have taken place, have been brought about by influences from the east, and not from the west.

The name Picardie is not known before the Thirteenth century, and its origin is still in doubt. The derivation which stands at present is the Celtic pie (= paint), and the Germanic termination land. The name is supposed to have been applied to these people because of their use of the pie, or piegue, in war, and also because they manufactured the weapon.

My investigations on the modern Picard, in this work, have been confined to the patois of Cauchy, with a few comparisons with the other communes of the Department of the Somme. Linguistically, this Department may be divided into four districts: (a) the Beauvaisis, towards the Department of Oise; (b) the Santerre, consisting of the plateau between the Somme and the Aisne; (c) the north-east of the Department, bordering on the Vallonian; (d) the rest of the Department, which consists of the Amiénois, and the Fonthieu. The shades of difference between the patois of the communes of the Amiénois, and the patois of the Fonthieu, are very slight. As to the disturbing causes, these came from the east, and north-east, so it is here that the greatest differences are found. On the south, the French has made considerable encroachments, and, indeed, it has in all

parts of the Department, owing to the efficiency of the schools under the present republic, and the extended trade relations with other parts.

Cachy is a village of three hundred and twenty inhabitants, about sixteen kilometers south-east of Sucre, in the arrondissement of Sucre, and in the canton of Bores. It is two kilometers from the nearest railway station. I was informed that it is only within the last ten years that the teacher in the village school has required the children to use the French language during school hours. This regulation appears to have no force outside the limits, for the patois is the language of the playground, and of the houses.

Concerning ethnological changes in the village during recent times, there were no traditions of migrations from other communities in the memory of the oldest

inhabitant. with the exception of an occasional
intermarriage.

Examine. By an oversight in the transcription
ē and œ have been used to
indicate the same sound.

The Vowels.

1. Treatment of a

(a) Some a: lire

This becomes a sound which is neither é nor e, but an intermediate sound which I transcribe as ê

fratrem > frêr; clarum > klêr

paterum > pîr; amatum > âmê

hospitaleum > otêl; mortaleum > mortêl

In order that the sound a should become ê it must have passed through the sound e, for the latter stands between ê and a in the vowel scale. While the French shows in this case a front wide vowel, the vowel of the patois has passed through this stage, and is on its way to the state of a front narrow vowel. Thus, although the tendency

of the French is towards frontness and narrowness, the patois goes still farther in this direction.

nasum > ni

The Latin verbs of the first conjugation change the a to i according to the regular law of the patois for this class of words.

valere > voli; manducare > mēŋgi

cambiare > kāŋgi

In Cinon the same peculiarity is found, although not invariably:-

manducare > maingi (Cinon, -Sat. I. 1)

cambiare > cangi (Cinon, Sat. V. 37)

but, perdonare > pardouner (Cin. Sat. I. 36)

prominare > proum'ner (Cinon. Sat. V. 14)

In the Trane-Picard the form ending in

¹ Beyer - Französische Phonetik p. 54.

i does not occur, but the termination
-er, for verbs of the first conjugation,
alone is found: meinger, prier,
(Hanc-Picard, 1882, p. 148); canter (id. p. 157)
laisser (id. 1872. p. 203)

In the Bonhomme Picard, however, printed
and published like the best named work,
at Amiens, the termination in -i is found:
raconti (Le Bonhomme Picard, 1887, p. 93)

quittii (id. p. 96). As the -i termination
is not used by the natives of Amiens,
the writer of these stories in the Bonhomme
must belong to a territory farther east.

In the Célèbre Mariage de Jeannain et de
Prignon, it is always represented by é:
conté (Cél. Mar. de J et P., suite, 14)
acougué (id. 39).

The termination -i for verbs of the
first conjugation is not found in the

selections from the different Sataes
 given by Corblet in his glossary, and I
 find no example in Li dis dou vrai
Aniel, Durmart le Galois, Li Chevaliers
as deus Espees, Queassin et Nicolette,
 nor in any other early text in which there
 are Picard forms.

At the present time the part of the
 Department of the Somme in which this
 peculiarity is found is extremely limited.
 It is not found at Amiens (that is, it is
 not used by those native to that city) nor in
 any place west of it. It commences
 at Boves, Cachy, Villers-Bretonneux, is
 found in nearly the whole of the Santerre,
 and as far south as Compiègne, and
 to the east in the region of Péronne, and
 Comblès, in the direction of the Wallonian.

English Channel



In the sixteenth century there was a tendency in the French itself to assimilate the forms of the first conjugation to those of the second.

"Au seizième siècle, on assimila parfois la première conjugaison à la seconde, et l'on dit: j'aimis, tu aimis, il aimet, etc. Robert Estienne dans sa Grammaire Française le déclare explicitement" — Darmesteter et Hatzfeld — Le seizième siècle en France, S. 237.

"Solche Formen [forms of the first conjugation in -i] sind im 15 und 16 Jahrhundert nicht in der Schriftsprache nicht unbeliebt, und werden von den Grammatikern des 16 Jahrhunderts ins Paradigma aufgenommen. Später werden sie in der gebildeten Sprache nicht

ausser Kurs gesetzt, doch haben zahlreiche
Patais an dieser Bildung festgehalten" -
Luchet in Gröbe's Grundriss I - 614

This peculiarity is in very extensive use in the Wallonian¹, and particularly at Liège².

The communes of Paifre, Wihagne, Lupreille, Alleur, Rocour, Liess, Voroux, Onfeye, with many others, are cited by Wiilmotte³ as having this peculiarity for verbs ending in y + n + are.

-
1. "Dans quelques localités on dit dansé"
[fort. danser] — Sigart — Dictionnaire du Wallon de Mons, p. 45.
 2. abreî [pron. abreî], abreî [pron. abreî],
aeî [asiî], aeouî [pron. aeouî] —
Lorin — Dictionnaire Liégeois-Français
(s. v)
 3. Revue des Patois vol. 1, p. 21. Chant L.

There is thus a direct territorial connection, by way of Bessonne and Cambles, between the Wallonian and that part of the Province in which this - ?
Léonisation is found.

This connection, and the fact that it is not found on the west of Arieux, nor south-west, nor south of the Lanterne, and the wedge-shape of the district itself, justify the conclusion that it has spread west and south from Wallonia to second territory.

In the 'Chartes of Vermandois' a
tonne libre very often gives ei.

This is not found, however, in the documents belonging to the western part.

'Chartes françaises du Vermandois de 1218
à 1250 par Le Broux. Paris 1875.

of the Picard territory, (in the Ponthieu and
Aire) but only in the Vermandois and
the region east and north of it. And
here this ei is only found in certain
positions: before a dental; in the
infinitive termination (dōñeir. xxxv. 10);
before a mute + r (Peires, xxxv. 11);
meine III. 6; Peires. xxxv. 10); before a
labial + r; before l

(6) Touie. a. preceded by k.

This gives the same result as in French.

canene > čjē.

decanum > dijē

paganum > péjē

1/ Zur Laut- und Flexionslehre des
altfranzösischen, hauptsächlich aus
Pikardischen Urkunden von Vermandois — F. Neumann.

11

quien (pron. éien); (Crinon Sat. II. 2)

cien (Auc. et hic 10. 27. 71)

(c) a pretonic preceded by k

cadēne > cére ; caballum > q'vo

caminum > k'mē ; canaluc > cānāl.

In all words of popular formation it falls; in words of learned origin, such as cānāl it is retained.

The fall of this sound was due to its pretonic position; the voice passed lightly over it in its haste to reach the tonic vowel. The sound too passed through the following changes: a > ē > i = len fall!

quēne (pron. cére) (Crinon - Sat. IV. 28)

q'veu (id. XVI) ; q'min (id. XVI. 57)

g' yeux (Frane-Picard, 1882. p 146)

caïn (Aue. et. Nic. - Lucien p 79)

ce min (id. 2.5.19); cair & cair (Reclus de
Mellens - Van Hamel p 385)

(d) Retourne a followed by l.

This remains as in French.

caloreu > kälö.

calour (Misere 231.7); cant (id. 138.12);

cant (Aue et Nic. 12.3); calair (id. 27.12.

(e) a tonic entravé.

This is retained with the same sound as
in French:

arbareu > áh; partue > pár.

vaecau > vák.

In some cases, however, it becomes o:

sacuum > so; lassum > po

cattum > ko; rattum > ro

The form pau is cited¹ by Corblet, and he says² it belongs to the Normandais, but it will be shown later that it belongs as a negative also to a part of the Amiénois. This transformation of a to o was unknown in Picard:-

lae (Canit³ 57.7); (Miserere 19.3; 145.6);

pas (Canit³ 66.12); pas (Aniel 154)

This change of a to o is exceedingly rare in French. One example of it is fantôme.

The change, is quite common, however, in the pretonic syllable:- ormaine; dommage; f³osmin.

-
1. "Et pis n'eussiez pau peur &c" - Lettre de Pierre Gossu cited by Corblet - Glossaire p 81. Also in Chiron:- Pau ein gamin ch' n'est pau einn' tebote ouvrage. (Satire XXV. 165)
2. Glossaire S.V. 3. L. Thurot - La Bon. fran. I. 33.

In Early-English this change of a to o was very frequent: - lāl > whole; māle > mole; dāl > dole; snāw > snow; draf > drove; rad - road; lād > lode; atān - oats; wrat > wrote; sāpe > soap; pāpa > pope. This change was especially liable to take place before nasals - long, lumb, - and the o was so frequent in the earlier period of English as almost to supersede the a². It also took place before s - nasa - nose.

Although all the examples quoted from the English have the tonic vowel libre, yet these cases are analogous to those of the patois in which a has become o, for

¹ Skeat - Principles of English Etymology - First Series - Oxford 1887. p 54 et sequ.

² Sweet - History of English Sounds p 27 - London 1874.

it has just been shown that the change only took place in modern Picard where the vowel is libre.

The change is due to the tendency to narrow the vowel — a tendency which is strong in this patois.

41 a in Romance intervae.

animam > am ; imagineu > imāġ

actatium > aġ , actatium > actāġ.

This gives the same result as in French.

arme (Auc et Nic 6.22); ame (id. 16.1)

age (Misereere 217.10); astape (Char. du

Vermund. I.9); actape (id. II.6)

In some of the O Pic. texts the termination — aige is found from — atium.

Joret¹ considers this form to be peculiar

1. Sur O dans les Langues Romanes, p. 57.

to the Lorraine and Burgundian, but it had a much wider extension. It is found in the Chartes du Vermandois:

arieraiges (xxxvi.22); re'taige (xxii.2); and in the Chartes du Ponthieu: maige (viii.17); aumaige (xi.23). Yet in all these Chartes the preponderating form is -aige.

The form -aige is also found by Neuman in the Chartes d'Artois, and in the Chronique de Jean de Stavelot (fifteenth century) from the region of Liège, and in this latter work the form in -aige is almost the ~~exclusive~~ general one.

It thus appears that this latter form, besides belonging to the Lorraine and Burgundian, is found (although, in the earlier monuments only rarely) in the

¹ Ant- und Lexicones des Alt-französischen 5. 12.

whole of the Picard territory, as shown by the early texts.

With regard to the sound of this - aige, the forms aiaedghe, uaedghe, which Förster finds in Baudouin de Sébaux, and the form lamieghe in the Chev. as deus Espees would show the pronunciation - ège: the sound ège in the present border dialects between Metz and Belfort² goes to confirm this sound for the - aige of the Lorraine and Burgundian. But from the preponderance of the form - age in the Picard, and the occasional form - aige, Neumann³ concludes that it probably had, in the Picard, a sound between age & ège.

1. Förster - Cherrier as deus Espees. XXXIV

2. Hornung. - Die Ostfranz. Grenzdialekte zwischen Metz und Belfort p. 15. - Weilbronn. 1887.

3. Neumann - Laut- und Flexionslehre des Altfranz. p. 141.

(9) a entravé après k

This remains as in French;

campus > kā.

cattum is an exception and becomes kā

(see p. 42)

comp (Auc et Nic. 26.22); cat (Recl. de Moll.-
Vanhaemel s.v)

(10) a + l + consonant.

altum > ö. ; altum > öte.

ente (pron. öte) (Chiron. Sat. I.5) ; I.23 ; II.28;

I. II.39) ; lau (Mor. de Jean. et Pri. 8) ; autre

(id. 48) ; autres (Auc et Nic. 2.25 ; 8.17) ;

autre (Li des douzai Quel 103 ; 130 ; 159) ; autre

(Cher. as II Esp. 23). The forms autre

and lauk do not appear in Chiron's

Satires. The forms ö and öte

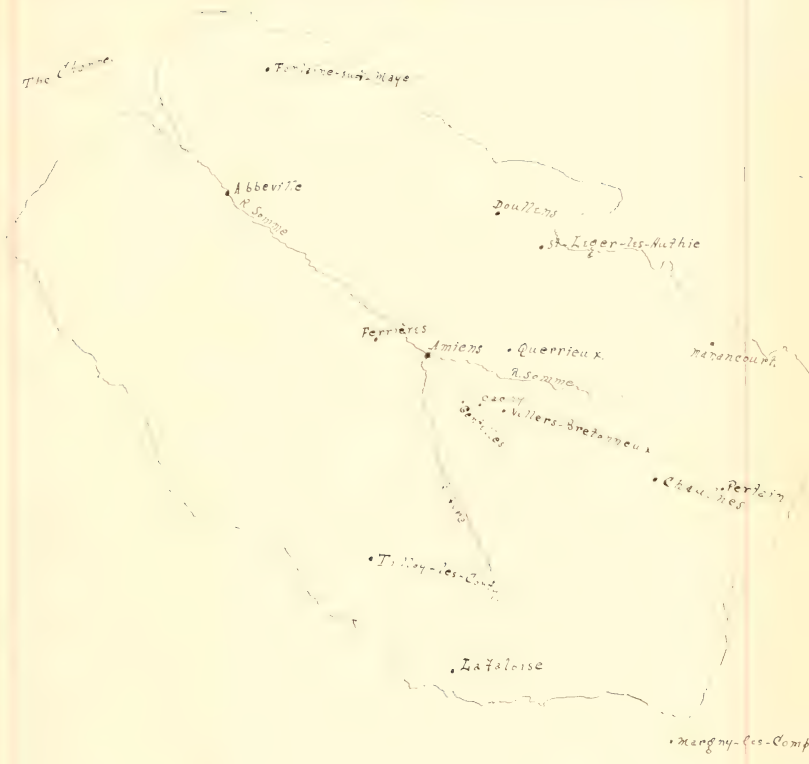
are found in the patois of the
following communes of the Saône ;

and these are undoubtedly the only forms used in the whole Département:

Quenieux, Manancourt, Amiens, La Faloise, Daullens, Chaubnes, Villay, Margny-les-Boupiègne, Contelles, Fontaine-sur-Maye, Villers-Bretonneux, St. Léger-les-Authie, Terrières, Restani, Cauchy.

The form o appears to be quite a modern one since it is not found in any of the old texts nor even in le (before marriage (1048), but is universal in Camion, in the Franc-Picard, and in the Boulonnais Picard.

The change from o to ö in these words may throw some light on the form lio of the modern Picard, which in O.Pic. was lio. The change from O.Pic. autie to mod. Pic. öt is the secondary consequence of a widening under the influence of



The accent¹. This process of widening is active in mod. Picard (see p. 156)

(1) a tonic + m or n.

This becomes ā as in French.

francam > frānk ; manicam, ~~manet~~
mānē ; plantam > plāntē.

In cameram the b has not been inserted between the m & r as in French, and there is no nasality, but it gives simply Sām.

In many words in the patois in which the Latin original had m or n + consonant, the consonant has either fallen, if final, or has become assimilated to the nasal, and, by the coalescence of the two consonants, the nasal sound of the

¹ E. Sievers - Jenāer Literaturg., 1874 vol. 145,

nasal has been way to a pure nasal sound: - gambane > gāmbi. > gāmm. > gām. (For other examples see 6)

In O.Pic., however, nasal consonants which existed, and the vowel had a nasal sound: ganbe (anc et Nic. 2.11; 12.28)

(2) . a + m or n + vowel

This gives in all cases āē, as in French: panem > pāē. ; de + mane > dmaē ; except where the vowel following the m or n was a, which, as a final, became ē, and in this case there is no nasal sound developed, but the a before the nasal becomes ē :- granam > grēn. ; piānam > pāēn.

In the O.Pic. texts this is always represented by ai :- pain (anc et Nic. 2.32; 4.13) ; denarin (id. 16.13.15) ; plaine (id. 26.22) ;

plaine (Canité, 37.7); L'endemain (Ch. du Veru.
xxx vii.38).

In duc. et dic. é in this position is also
transcribed by ai: plaine (16.22);
plaine (20.12); Sain (13.20), showing that
at this time (beginning of the thirteenth
century) the nasal developed from é and
the nasal developed from â had the
same sound in Picard.

(k) a tonic followed by k.

facere > fixer; factum > fixé;
jam + magis > Zâmaic.

In all the modern Picard texts the same form

1. "In n'aura pus fouaire crien" - Crinon - Sol. I. 28.
"foaire en nouoy moainage" - Mor. de J. et P. 33.
"Vôlan fouer le neuch éd sin fiu" - Evon. selon St. Math. 22.2
"Eh bien, jamouais," - Fone-Picard, 1882. p. 145.

is found.

A parasitic i was developed before the e. After the fall of the e, this i combined with the a, and produced the sound é which, in the patois, has been treated as the e of sapere &c., and has thus been diphthongised to ie¹.

In the Amiel we find the rhymes faire:
affaire (97); fait:trait (id 129); In Aue et nie
faire:aine (3.14); Carité: faire; plaire:
faire (I. 4, 12). In Aue et nie the form
fare is also found. This change of ai
to a is frequent in Picard, Wallonian,
and Lorraine texts².

*placere gives, in the patois, place.

¹ For the development of this sound see treatment of étancie above p. 53

² Suchier - Aue. et nie. p 65.

a form which has been adopted from the French.

(1) a tonic preceded by *rad*:

carum > cer; scalam > écel,

cercāre > ser^ui; siccāre > sésir

cambiāre > cānz^ui; inrabiāre > arāzⁱi

purgāre > pürzⁱi.

This becomes *e* as in French, except in words from the first Latin conjugation in which the *a* becomes *i*, according to the regular rule for this class of words.

cier (Auc. et Nic. 9.5.14); cerquier (id. 26.17)

cangier (Mis. 165.6), purgier (Can. 1938).

In O.Pie. a parasitic *i* was regularly developed after the guttural according to the Bartock-Blossafia Law. This *ie*

¹ See treatment of *a* tonic - *libre* p. 24

was reduced to e towards the end of the thirteenth century, and in modern patois this termination has become z¹.

(m) a post-tonic falls as in French,
terram > ter ; *stclam > ctuel ;
gloriam > gluér ; portam > port

This a first became e and the fall of this e had already commenced at the beginning of the twelfth century³, and it had entirely disappeared before the time of the monuments which are distinctively Picard.

(n) Pretonic a not preceded by k, remains

¹ Schumann - Grammatik p. 77.

² See p. 2.

³ Suchier - Reimpredigt l. xxxix.

as in French.

adorāre > adori; appropriare > apri.

calare > aruer

(0) Nebentonic a remains as in French.

adoratum > adoré; parabolatum >

paré;

(1) Nebentonic a entered before a nasal

becomes ē :- manducatum > mēngē.

commandamentum > kmēndmē.

manège (pron. mēngē; (Kinson. L. 1).

In this position a and e give the same result¹, but in the thirteenth century an + const. did not rhyme with en + consonant in the dialects of Anjou, Permandais, Poitou and Laitais², although in the same period they

¹ See e + nasal + const p. 59. ² Haase - Verhalten des sächsischen und wallonischen Dialekts 7c. p. 10 et seq.

gave a like result in the dialect of the
Ile de France and of Lorraine. In lue, et
hic. there are a few words in which e is
found for a :- asognette (6.21); center (12.6);
enfant (28.18); mengoient (18.10); but e and
a are generally separated in this work.²
Rare cases of the mingling of a & e are
also found in the Reclies de Malliens :-
mengoient (118.15 & 8), asside mangue (id. 66.12)

The termination -arium.

panarium > peni; rosarium > rosji.

pebuarium > peurji; primarium >

prempji. The termination i for this

class of words is also found by Hornig
for the dialect between Metz and Belfort,³

¹ lue - lue, et hic. § 64. ² Id. § 64.

³ lue ostfran. Grenz-dialekte, rais. Metz & Belfort. p. 13.

but there he finds the termination with a monosyllabic form. In the dialect of Liège also the monosyllabic termination in -i is found e.g. *fôvêrî*.

All the Romance forms, with the exception of the Rumanian, and the Italian, point to a form -erium as the original termination in this class of words. The explanation of Siehard¹ is, that the form -erium arose out of -arium, by the influence of the i on the preceding a; but Gröber² says there was a change of termination from -arium to -erium through association with other forms ending in -erium. But, however the change from -arium to -erium may have taken place, none of the forms existing in any of the

¹ Foris - Dictionnaire Liégeois-Français S.V.

French dialects, with the exception of a part of the *languedoc* (which has *er* or *ier*) can be explained except by taking *-erium* as a base. Taking this form as the original, the development in the *patois* is as follows: the *i* is attracted to the tonic syllable giving *ei*; the *e* diphthongised giving *iei*. then by the fall of the medial vowel *ii*. In *peni* are *i* united with the *n* to form *ni*.

1. Paul Meyer - *Romania* III. 434.

Treatment of e.

(a) Tonic e libre.

setraum > pjēr ; seue > oſē ;

tenet > ſjē ; rem > rpē . The e

diphthongises to je, and before a final nasal produces jē. This is a rising diphthongue in the patois, although it is supposed to have been originally a falling one. It was already a rising one in the Picard of the Thirteenth century. This change from falling to rising took place first in the Franco-norman².

In O. Picard Tonic e libre generally gave ie : pies (Ch. du Verm., XXXI, 11) ; bien (id. I, 13) ; rien (id. VII, 12) ; tient (id. V, 60), but cases are

¹. Havet - Romania VI - 323.

². Neumann - Laut- und Flexionslehre im Altfranz., p. 54 et seq.
Neumann (id.) p. 54.

found in O.Pic. where this i has been reduced to i through progressive assimilation of the e to the i :- entier (Phil. Mou. V. 8083); abaissier (Cher. as 11 Esp. 95-24); vinent (Baud. Léb. 1803). This process was also common to the Burgundian and Lorrainé.

This assimilation has taken place in the patois in gê when used in connection with the conjunction é (7. ch), when it becomes gê.

(6) taie & entravé remains e as in French.

perdre > perd ; terre > ter ;
infernum > ênfer ; testame > tet ;
section > sect.

This is also the usual result in O.Pic. Léb. :-
terre (Ch. du Vern. I. 12) ; fenestres (id. xxiv. 4) ; prestres (id. v. 7) ; terre (Que et Nic. 2. 6. 20) ; perdre (id. 4. 6)

1
Neumann - Laut- und Flexionslehre des Altfranz. p. 57.

but e diphthongised to ie is also found: tiere (Aniel. 31, 40), and in other cases cited by Tobler. But this ie formed assonnance with ē. The e is peculiar to the renegau and the Wallonien³. It is rare at St. Omer, and is not found at Arras, St-Quentin, Mézières; but it is the common form at Aire, Lille, Douai, Cambrai, Avesnes, Maubeuge, Hamur, Liège, and in the region of Valenciennes and Mons⁴. It was found in detail in the Thirteenth, but is not consistently carried out in the Texts⁵. In Aue et Nie there is only one example of it (estre 10.40; beside estre 2.27).

The diphthongised form is not found in any part of the Louvre at present.

¹ Tobler - Aniel p. xxiv. ² Id. p. xxiv. ³ Suchier in Gröber's Grundriss I p. 602. ⁴ Id. p. 602 ⁵ Suchier - Aue et Nie p. 64

(c) laine ε followed by a final nasal,
becomes $\text{f}\tilde{\varepsilon}$ as in French.

mit > $\text{v}\tilde{\varepsilon}$; bene > $\text{b}\tilde{\varepsilon}$ ¹; rene > $\text{r}\tilde{\varepsilon}$.

Before a nasal $\tilde{\varepsilon}$ is found in assonance
with $\tilde{\varepsilon}$ in the earliest French texts². The
nasal deepened the sound of the vowel $\tilde{\varepsilon}$ in
such a way that it became $\tilde{\varepsilon}^3$.

(d) laine ε followed by yod .

medium > $\text{m}\tilde{o}\tilde{e}$; lectum > $\text{l}\tilde{o}\tilde{e}$;

pretium > $\text{pr}\tilde{o}\tilde{e}$; ebrium > $\text{i}\tilde{e}$

when final it becomes $\tilde{a}\tilde{e}$; when not
final it becomes \tilde{i} . In all the modern
Picard texts which I have examined⁴

¹ See note on preceding page. ² Schumann-Strauss p. 80

³ Suchier in Bröcker's *Sammlung* I. p. 576.

⁴ In the *Satires* of Crison; the *Franc-Picard*; the *Barbousse*.
Picard; -*Evangile selon St. Matthieu* &c &c.

it is in all cases transcribed by i's, so also in all the O.Pic. texts :- lit (Aue et Nic. 6.21), prix (Mis. 78.5); mi (Mis. 105.3).

The sound developed as follows :- A parasitic i was developed after the é; the é diphthongised to ie, thus giving iei, and by the fall of the medial vowel ii, and by the coalescences of the two i's, it became i'. The history, territory etc of the sound œ is treated elsewhere.

(e) Tonic é preceded by god. A parasitic i is developed after the god, joining ie as in French :- celum (cl. Lat. caelum)
→ sicel.

(f) Tonic é followed by a labial:

¹ See p 44

lievre > fjöv ; levo > jöv.

The form in O.Pic. was lieve (Aue et nie 8.53) and so also in all the modern Picard texts: Lievre (Cél. Mar. - suite 53); iève (Crimon-Sab. II.43), except the Evangile selon St. Matthieu where it is levo (2.1)

The tonic e of lieve is diphthongised to ie according to the regular law, and a parasitic u has developed in the modern patois, which has combined with the e to form the sound ô. This u is not found in the transcription of the Célèbre mariage, but owing to the inaccurate transcription, it is not sufficient to prove that the u sound had not developed at that time - 1648. The fall of the j' in jöv is due to the influence of the first and second persons plural.

¹ See p. 175

(g) e + r + consonant; -

mercantem > maršā ; perdonare >
pardonī.

This change took place under the influence of the vowel r.

Due to the difficulty of pronouncing e, a front vowel, and the vowel r in the same combination, the sound e was changed to the sound a which is nearer the r physiologically. This change had already taken place in the twelfth century, and is found in all the O.Fr. texts :- marceant (Auc. et his, 28.15); marceant (Car. 157.3); Sardoner (Mis. 268.10). This reactive influence of the vowel r has been greatly extended in the modern patois of Cauchy²

(h) e before + nasal + consonant,

¹ Schwann - Grammatik p. 32. ² See triv. p- univ. p-

This becomes ē :- pensatum > pēndē;
*intendutum > ēntēndōē. So also in
O.Pic. :- pensée (His. 11578); entendans (Car. 207.12)

(i) hoicē + nasal + consonant :- This also gives ē.
rentum > vē; prendre > prē;
exemplum > ēksēmp. So also in O.Pic.
prendre (His. 52.5); rent (Car. 130.5); argent
(Aniel 60); gent (Aniel 59); foument (Ch. du
Vern. XX/1.43).

According to Paul Meyer, en + const. = an +
const. for the beginning of the thirteenth
century. In the Picard monuments examined
by Haase² he finds that, in the Beauvoisis,
the endings ant and ent rhyme together,

-
1. Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris I. 244.
 2. Verhalten der pikardischen und wallonischen
Denkmäler des Mittelalters in Bezug auf a und e vor
gedehnten m. p 10 et sequ.

but that in the patois of the present day they
are separated. In the thirteenth century, in
the Vermandois, in the dialects of Amiens, Ponthieu,
Artois and Hennegau, these do not rhyme
together, and in Cambrai they sometimes
rhyme and sometimes do not¹. In the
patois of Bechy, and in the whole of the
département of the Somme ant and ent
are separated, except when pretonic² where
ant passes to the sound of int.

In the Amiel en + const. is found once in
rhyme with an + const.

(j) post-tonic e falls as in French.

venire > venir; patreue > pér;

essère > et; camera > Sâm.

¹ Haase - op. cit. p 10 et sequ.

² See treatment of a + nasal + const. p 27

The fall of this e took place before the time of the earliest French monuments

(k) Bretonic e falls.

levāre > lvi ; retirāre > rtiri ;
unire > unir ; tenere > tnir ;
geniculum > gnū.

The fall of this e is due to the light passage of the voice on to the tonic accent. The preponderance of the tonic syllable led to a gradual weakening of the vowels preceding it, and in this case that vowel ~~for~~ entirely disappeared¹. It passed through the following stages :- e > ɛ > to whispered e. Then fell². This e is written in all the O.Fr. texts, and as late as the Celibre mariage (1648) it is found : e.g. - appelle (Lut. 66) ; vené (id. 112)

¹ Beyer - Französische Phonetik p. 23. ² Loc. cit.

In the modern Picard texts it is never written:
etirè (Evang. s. St. Matth. 2.14); vrix (id. 3.11);
-lvan (id. 2.2); g'noux (Cinon. 2.44); r' marguer
(Le Bonhomme pic. 1882. p. 87)

(1) The termination -ellum becomes fö.
cultellum > cütjö; martellum > märtjö;
castellum > kätjö; bellum > bfjö;
mantellum > mântjö; morcellum >
morsjö; fardellum > färdjö; agnellum
äñjö.

It gives the same result in all parts
of the Département of the Somme, and this
form is the only one found in the modern
texts belonging to that territory:

bayeux (Cinon lat. IX. 43); capiex (id. III. 33);
cavieux (id. V. 64); mantieu (Evang. selon St. Matth.
5.40); morcieu (id. 7.11); nouvieu (9.17);
égnieu (21.5); potieu (Tristesse in Corbelle Gloss p. 43)

bieu (id. p. 43); bieu (Franc-picard 1887. p. 149)

nouviere (Le Boulanger die 1852. p. 58)

In The Célibre mariage it has two forms iau,
and eau. In Picard texts older than this
iau is the usual¹ and almost universal
form²: demaisiax (Aue. et Vie. 5.17); caviax
(id. 13.15); biax (id. 15.14); biaus (Aniel 120);

pastoriaux (Chv. as II Esp. 105-14); biaus (id. 97);

biaus (Guy de Camb. 3.28); demaisiax (id. 29.11);

marciaux (id. 2.23); foreciaux (35.16)

This development of the Picard to iaux (iaus)
separates the O. Pic. from the other French
dialects² which had els, els, eaus, eaus &c

¹ Die pikardischen Texte haben alle iaus - Formen.
in Zts. f. R. Pl. I. 565.

² Besondere Erwähnung verdient hier noch die
Behandlung der romanischen Gruppen - ill + eaus,
and - ell + eaus, beide = fr. el + eaus, durch

The explanation of the O.Pic. form in -iaus offers little difficulty, and Förster¹ gives the following development, of the correctness of

deren lautliche Entwicklung sich das Pikardische von den übrigen Dialecten ableitet. el + const. tritt nämlich, wenn auch nicht unbedingt, so doch am häufigsten in Pikardischen unter der Form iaus auf gegenüber den els, eals, eaus, eax etc. den übrigen afr. Dialecte. Letztere kommen, jedoch, bisweilen neben iaus im Pik. vor :-

iaus (Ch. du Verme. IV. 7; VI. 5. 8; X. 13; XIV. 4; XVII. 9; entriiaus (id. XXVI. 6); iaus (id. XXXIII. 11); eaus (id. V. 29. 64); eus (id. XXI. 27) — Neumann — Laut- und Flexionslehre des Altfranz. v. v.

¹ Zeits. f. R. Ph. I. 564

which there can be little doubt :- bels >
béals > beals > beau(s); bials > biaus was
a later development from beals.

But the development of the modern form
bien (pron. bjö) offers greater difficulty.

Forster' wished to derive it from a form
biels which gave, by the vocalization of the
l, bieu(s) (pron. bjö); but although the form

1. "Das Pik. bien lässt eine doppelte Erklärung
zu: entweder mit wallonischer Diphthongierung
biels (und vocalisiert biedis) und durch Einfluss
des l daraus bials und mit vocalisierten l
endlich biaus; diese Form gab dem heutigen
Pik. bien, jenes dem bieu seinen Ursprung.
Diese Entwicklung möchte ich aber gern auf das
Wallonische beschränken; für den übrigen Theil des
Pik. möchte ich das Pik. -iaus aus vorausgehenden els
> eals > ials erklären" - Forster - Zeitf. f. R. Ph. I. 564.

liel exists in the O.Pic. texts, the form liels has not been found. But a form liels is not absolutely necessary, since it may be explained through Neumann's principle of Satzplanlichkeit as follows: - The form of the Accus. sing, liel, vocalised the l before a consonant, giving liieu (pron. liö), but retained the l before a vowel².

The French dialects surrounding the Picard offer no help (with the exception of the Wallonia) for the solution of this difficulty, since, in the eastern dialects, the l falls, and the same takes place in the Norman with the exception of the territory bordering on the Picard, and which has been influenced by the latter.

1. Dr. Matzke - Modern Lang. Notes 1889. No I. p 16.

2. Dr Matzke - Loc. Citat.

There are a few words in the patois
of Cauchy in which the termination -ellum
has received a different treatment:

tinellum = tini; flagellum > flépi;

monticellum > mōndi, rastellum > rati.

Two of these words are cited by Jouancoux
from the O.P.C. with the termination el:- flaïel,
tinel. In O.P.C. tinellum developed in the
same way as other words with the termination
-ellum, viz. to iau:- flaiaus (Cae. 213.3).

The other words cited above, I have been
unable to find in any O.P.C. text.

The form flépi, must, therefore, be a later
introduction, and probably came from those
dialects² in which the l fell, giving

1. "Lui porte tinel, qui porte lache,

Lui flaïel et baston d'espines" (Du Camp, Flagellum) -
Jouancoux - Glossaire S.V. Flapel.

² The Eastern and Norman.

fléjé, and, was then changed, in the patois of Cauchy, to fléji after the analogy of verbs of the first conjugation. I am, however, unable to cite any example of the form fléjé in the patois, - a form which is necessary for a satisfactory proof of this theory.

(m) Treatment of l + god.

lectum - loc; lectus > poct; dispectum
> dépoct; decem > dis; sex > sic..

It becomes œ¹ in words in which this becomes the final sound; dis and sic are French introductions, and, before a following consonant, these are pronounced in the same way as in French.

In O.P.C. this always gave i, by the production of a parasitic i before the god, the diphthongisation

¹ See p 47

of *e* to *ie*, the fall of the medial vowel in the triple combination, and the coalescence of the two *i*'s. lit (anc et me 6.21); pis (Car. 96.5); sis (Mis. 225.7).

Melius and Deum have developed in a different way: the former has become mju, and the latter dju.

In the O.P.C., there was considerable variation in the transcription of the termination of this class of words. Sometimes it is found as ie and sometimes as iee. Till the middle of the thirteenth century ie was the common form for this class of words but after that

1 "Die Schreibung zwischen ie und iee schwankt durchaus; daher denn auch ein ursprüngliches iee mit ie geschrieben wird, daher lie, line, die" - Festschrift - Chevalier as II Espees - XLIV.

time it became ieu¹, but ie was still retained as an archaism in some words. The form ieu did not become, as Neumann states², the only one, for, in addition to the two words already given, the patois of Bâle retains the ending ie in the following words, although their history is a different one²:—
mälädj^{ie}, besp^{ie}, krüent^{ie}, s^{ie}nij^{ie}, näij^{ie}

¹ "Es ist wohl anzunehmen dass in der ersten Hälfte des 11. Jahrh. die ältere Generation der lebenden Pikarden noch ie sprach, während bei der jüngeren sich die Neigung einstellte statt dessen ieu auszusprechen. Um die Mitte des Jahrh. etwa u. 1250 mochten sich beide eine Zeitlang in der angestrebten Weise nebeneinander bestehende Unsprachen dargestellt ausgeglichen haben, dass ieu als die einzige den Sieg davon bring"—Neumann-Laut- und Flexionslehre im alt-franz. § 42.
² See p 401

this variation in the o.p.c., between ie and ieu does not appear to have indicated a difference of pronunciation, for Tobler finds, in the Sit de Leukilleee, (in Jubin's Nouv. Rec. II. 383) liex rhyming with Jus'

(21) Prothetic e.

The sound of this e varies all the way between e' and e according to the nature of the preceding and following consonants². It never arises before a single consonant followed by a pure vowel, but only before a cluster of consonants, or before a single consonant followed by a nasal vowel. I did not hear this prothetic e when single words were pronounced, but only in

¹ Tobler - aniel XXVII.

² Owing to the want of material I am unable to give rules for the variations

connected discourse,

This prosthetic e is found in all recent Picard texts :- Pour eg f'el croiche (Union Sat. I. 7.); en rene ed brain d'vin (id. I. 2); el socialisme (id. I. II. 1); erqueille (id. VIII. 50); Edpi (Evan. selon St Math. 1. 17); Evne (id. 2. 2); Edse (s. 14); Edvan (id. 5. 16); Eddin (id. 27. 34); Égu' main (Frane-pic. 1885. p. 145); Éj' t'eironais (id. 145); P'em su forté (id. p. 146); iche Grou- mile (Lebonhomme pic. 1882. p. 81); femmes ed terre (id. p. 82).

This peculiarity of the Picard appears to be of quite recent origin, since no example of it is found in the Célèbre mariage (1648), nor in any earlier Picard text with which I am acquainted.

This prosthetic e is found in all the Eastern dialects :- sain ed fortout l' domestique, ed main (dialect of Champagne).

¹ Tarbé - Recherches sur l'histoire du langage de Champagne p. 164

Émanteil (Lorraine¹).

In the Emilian dialect of north Italy there is a similar phenomenon², and also in the Engadine dialects³.

The prosthetic e arose in this case from the same cause which produced the prosthetic e before the clusters sp, st & se in all the French dialects, viz:- from the desire of separating, by a vowel sound, clusters of consonants, either difficult or impossible to pronounce. This prosthetic e, as a matter of

¹. Adlam - Patois Lorrains. p. 400

². "Häufig wird ein Vokal vorgeschlagen um die dadurch entstandene Härte [the hardness produced by an initial cluster of consonants] zu vermeiden, nicht in dem hier allgemeinen ar für ri, al für le, sondern z.B. avein, veinus" - D'Ovidio in Gröber's Grundriss I. 557.

³. "alg Ruig" - Müsserhüege in Ulrich's Rhaetia Chrest. I. p. 151. 155.

course, only arose after the fall of the e in the
pretonic syllable'. Hence the reason of its
modern origin.

Treatment of e

(a) Tonic e libre, becomes vé
labire - avire, plure - pluér;
capire - capuér.

The earliest monument to show the transcription
oi from e + i is the Junos Fragment, but here
it is in the pretonic syllable. In the twelfth
century this oi was pronounced éi; it then
became oe, and, at the end of the fifteenth
century, ue. This was afterwards noted by
ue', and oe'. From the sixteenth century this
ue underwent two kinds of changes: on the
one hand it went into ua, - a pronunciation

which triumphed in the French of the eighteenth century, and is the pronunciation of the present day. In the other hand, in the conjugations of the imperfect indicative, and conditional, and in a few words in which unaccented e or final s followed it became é².

While the French has developed in this way, the patois of Caux has remained where the French was at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and has the sounds which at that time was transcribed by the grammarians as oué.

The pronunciation ué is common to the whole of the Department of the Saône with the exception of the North East towards the

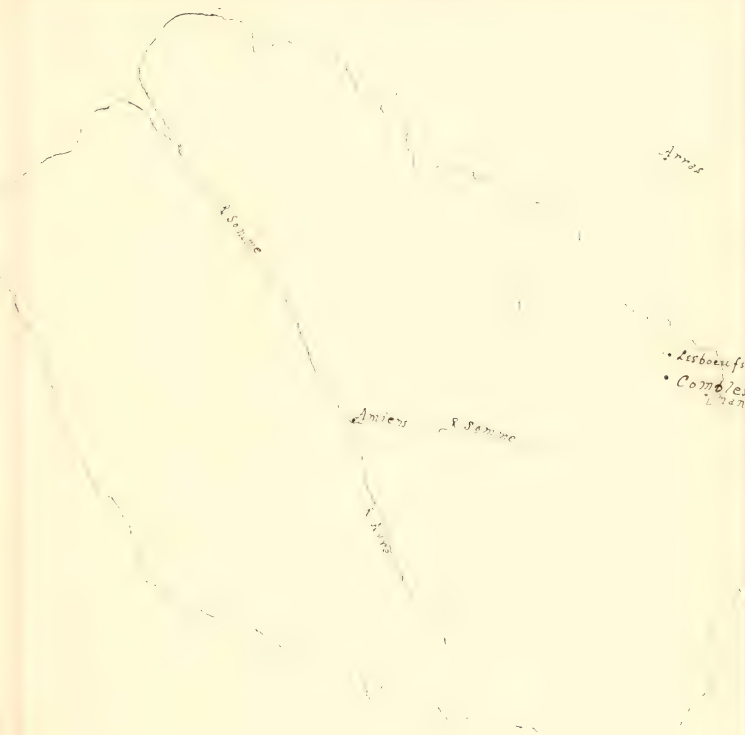
¹ Suchier in Grober's Grammatik, I. 588.

² Darmesteter and Halévy - Le seizième siècle en France p. 211 et sequ.

department of the Rood, in the direction of the
 wallonian. At Lesbœufs, near Comblès we have
sâvêr, âvêr, étol, ro, dro, lo, i, ro, ro,
sapêre, lêrêre, *lêla, rofem, directum, âfem,
 At Monancourt, in the Canton of Comblès, we
 have sâvor, âvor, but rué, drué; at
 Chaumes, ro, dro, étol, but sâvêr, âvêr,
 In the patais of Liège the pronunciation is
ave, (lêrêre) savê (sapêre)¹.

There is thus a border district in the
 region of Comblès and Chaumes, between the
 pure Picard and the wallonian, in which
 the pure Picard forms are found along with
 forms such as sâvor, âvor, etc, which
 approximate to the wallonian forms in u
 In mîmus > mîwâm, and sêlâm > sêla the
 pure French forms have been adopted into the patais.

¹. Foris - Dictionnaire Liégeois-Français - S.V.



Amiens

VORD

Camb.

- Lesbois
- Combes
- Nanancourt

Amiens

Somme

Amiens

vir, (videre) is heard still in all parts of the lance. In Cachy it is the pronunciation of the old people, and vuier is that of the young, thus showing the tendency of the young to produce uniformity. It was common in O.Pic. as well as in all the Eastern dialects to find i from closed e in an accented syllable:

vir has developed in the following way:
vedere > redeir > reir > vuir, then by the assimilation of the e to the i > ruir, then by the coalescence of the two i's > vir.

'Das langem e in bekannter Silbe entsteht allfr. i in eglise (VII.15); priest (XI.6). Zerner ergibt im fihardischen Dialekt, wie auf dem ganzen ostfranz. Sprachgebiet die Supinivus Endung der 2 Conjug. — ere ist ir; cf. rechaier (XXIV.8); dazu recair; goir" (Neumann-Lautk. und Flexionslehre S. 22).

(b) Lainc. é¹, entravé becomes é

méttere > met; vérkam > verç²;

péçettiane > perçet; méssam > mes.

In O.L., this remained é; the change from é to e began in the twelfth century, and was completed in the next century².

(c) Piteunie é libre before a nasal falls

ménare > meni; démorare > dmöri;

It too passed through the following sound-transformations before falling: é > e > ø³. This vowel continued to be written in all Picard texts up to modern times.

¹ Schwann - Altfranz. Grammatik p. 30.

² Suchier in Lohr's *Sammlung* I, 586.

³ Meyer - Franz. Grammatik t. 23.

(d) Pretonic é before a nasal + Consonant,
becomes ē.

entrare > entri; cum + énitiae > kēmēnsi;

* entenduntur > entēndōt, prehendere + habere >
prēndre.

The ē has already become ē in the oldest
French monuments, although it was
originally ē².

In the O.P.F. texts this ē is generally transcribed
as e, but sometimes it becomes ā:

asanlent (Auc. et Nic. 21, 1); sanbloit (id. 32, 19);
sanblont (B/59).

ē is also the transcription in the Célestine manusc.,
but in more modern texts it is ei which,
however, has the same sound as ē.

contēnt'ro (Cunin, I. II. 31); reindot (id. III. 23)

¹ Schwann - Grammatik des Altfranz. p 80.

² Lucien in Gröbers' Grundriss, I. 576.

(c) Latin é + nasal + vowel, i

plenam > plē ; racemum > racējē ;
freum > frē , senam > sen ,
venam > ven ; avenam > aven .

This becomes ē when the nasal was followed by an original a , but when it was originally followed by any other vowel it becomes ē̃ .

This ē from é + n + a , had still in the Célèbre mariage (1648) the nasal sound, as is shown by the following rhyme :- broaisme : nerine . (Sintf. 417) . Nasalisation in this case was given up in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and from then the ē became a pure vowel¹ . Previous to this, this ē had in all cases the nasal sound² .

¹. See also in Erasmus's Handbook L. 589.

². ib. L. 586.

In the O.Pic. texts, beginning with 1150¹, ein and ain were written indifferently² to indicate this sound before a nasal + any original vowel, showing that these two combinations had, from that time the same sound. a is also found for this ai or ei in Picard, wallonian and Lorraine texts³.

blain (Auc et Nic. 40-33; Ch. du Veru. XV. 10; Car. 37.8);

plaine (Auc et Nic. 20.12); planne (Auc et Nic.

24.17); pleine (Ch. du Veru. XV. 11)

(- laine é + god + consonant).

directum > drui; streetum; étrui;

frigidum > frei; teetum > tui.

A parasitic i was developed before the god

¹ Suchier in Gröber's *Grundriss* I. 582.

² Neumann-Laub und Flexionslehre in Altfranz., p. 57.

³ Suchier - Aucassin et Nic. p. 65.

and combined with the e to form the diphthong ei which developed in the same way as laie ¹, till it arrived at the sound ue. This final e sound was changed to i from analogy with verbs of the first conjugation. This influence of the verbs of the first conjugation in producing this change is shown by the fact that the sound ui, or this class of words is found in the same territory which shows the termination i for verbs of the first conjugation². In all other parts of the saun we find, as the result of the combination at under treatment in this section, ue.

In all the O.Pic. texts it is found as oi:-

estrait (Mus. 197.3); fruit (Mis. 104.7); droit (Auc. & Mis. 12.28)

This oi rhymed with the oi's from all other sources, from the beginning of the thirteenth

¹ See p. 53

² See map. p. 5.

century, and the common sound at that time was 'œ'.

Where the diphthong does not become the final sound, the change of the last element (é) to i does not take place in the territory specified: regem > ruér.

(g) é + god + vowel.

legem > luá; regem > ruá; vicem > fuí.

This gives the same result, and has developed in the same way, as the combination in the preceding section. Luá and ruá are pure French forms which have been introduced into the patois.

(h) Tonic é preceded by god.

¹ Schwamm - Grammatik p. 76; Van Hamel - Recluse de Molliens p. CXXIX.

mercedem > merci; ceram > sir;

placere > placir; tacere > tezir.

This becomes i and develops in the same way as the same combination in French. A parasitic i is developed after the god. The e diphthongises to ei thus giving iei. The medial element drops, and the two i's coalesce, giving i.

(i) Petrone e + god.

lectere > lucgōt; decanum > duējē;

necare > nūjī; plecare > plūjī.

A parasitic i was developed before the god; this i combined with the e to form the diphthong ei, which became oi from the time of the Linas Fragment. At the beginning of the thirteenth century it had the sound ōi, and developed in the same way as the oi from other sources².

¹ Schwann - Grammatik p. 76. ² See p. 33

(f). Tretonis é in any combination except the preceding, and before n or m + const:

femāre > femi; merabelia > merveli;
pisare > pegi; deluvium > delüž.

In O. Fr. this was a closed vowel. The change from a closed to an open sound is due to its position before the tonic accent. In this position there was a diminution of the fullness of the vowel in the look of the voice to reach the tonic accent.²

Treatment of i

(a) Tonic i libre ..

venere > vere; ausum > avot;
mimicum > imot; ficum > fig;
servire > servir; aprilum > avril;
ripam > riv; nidum > not.

When followed by a pronounced consonant it remains in the palate, when it becomes

² Schumann - Grammatik p 30. ² Meyer - Phonetik p 23.

final it becomes ā.

(b) Same i intravē

villān > vīl ; scriptūm > skrā;

mīllā > mīl ; tristē > trīst.

It remains when followed by a pronounced Consonant; when final, it becomes ā.

(c) i + m or n.

caninūm > knē ; linia > līnġ;

linūm > līnġ , vinūm > vē ; finūm > fē

This becomes ē. ē as a nasal from

i + nasal was unknown before the sixteenth century. It was unknown to Palsgrave.

1. The sound ā, from i and n, will be treated in a separate section.

See p. 119

In the first half of the sixteenth century it was still a pure vowel, but in the second half of that century, it took a sound intermediate between the pure vowel sound, and the nasal sound, \tilde{e}^1 . This sound gradually opened during the seventeenth² century, and, in the eighteenth, took its present sound \tilde{e}^3 .

In the Suite du Célèbre Mariage de Jeannain the rhyme time: mequinne (578) is found, now as ai and ei⁴ already had, long before this, the same sound, and as each of these had also the sound \tilde{e} , it follows that \tilde{e} had already, in the second of that time, (1648)

-
1. Darmesteter et Hatfield - Le seiz. siècle en France p. 214.
 2. Suchier in Gröber's Sammlung I. 588
 3. Darmesteter et Hatfield - Le seiz. siècle en France p. 214.
 4. See p. 61

the sound of ē, which it has to-day.

In this work we find the rhymes germain:

Guenin (287); Jeannain: enfin (259, 260).

In this work i in the combination i + nasal
+ vowel also has the nasal sound; -

moairinne: nerine (417, 418)

mequine: moairinne (464, 470)

moairinne: voisine (477, 478).

Nasalisation in this case was lost in the
eighteenth century.¹

(d) Pretonic i remains.

liberare > liari; viventem > vivā.

mirare > mili.

It falls in the following cases: divinum

dvē; divisat > doig; timedium > domœ.

This is due to its pretonic position, and to its

¹ See also in Latham's Grammar L. 534.

position in a cluster of consonants which
can be pronounced when it falls¹

(C) i + yod.

inimicum = enimā; unclitum = unā,
dicere = dic.

It remains when followed by a pronounced
consonant. inimicum becomes ad.

A parasite i was developed before the
yod, and this coalesced with the original i.

¹ Byer - Fran. Phonetik p. 23.

Treatment of ö

(iv) änic & äke

gröbum > gröv; populum > pöp;

solum > söl; occulum > öl;

novum > növ;

This is the sound found in all the modern Record Texts:- evv (Evangile selon St. Math. 6.1); sevp (id. 11.7); seul (id. 18.14); euł (id. 28.4); aven (France-Rö. 1881. p 205); nevf (id. p 209); aven (Cöl. Mor. 38, 63); ven (id. 1, 10); neu (14, 17). This ö, according to Luehje, was developed in the following way:- 'the original vowel was extended and became öö, then, by the deepening of the accented element, to, out of which the diphthongue uo was developed'. This uo is the form found in the Eulahiä and

¹ Luehje in Gröber's Grundriss I. 573.

the *Leodegas*. Then the *e* was weakened to *e*, and the diphthong became ue, which is the most common form found in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In the next century forms with ee began to appear, although the older forms are still used in the texts of this century. For example, in the *Chiv. as II Esp.*, the following forms are found: ue, u, ae, eu, oue, e². In Picard texts of the end of the twelfth century, the usual form is ue, — the usual form of the *l'Artois* and *Chouans*. In the *Chartes de Vermandois*, of the first half of the thirteenth century, we find ue and eu written indifferently, and, at this time both these forms had the phonetic value of

¹ Such as in Guöher's *Grundriss* I. 587.

² *Förster* — *Chiv. as II Esp.*, xxi.

ö, — the sound found at present in the
dialect of Bocky.

quet (Ch. du Ven. XL1.5); peut (id. XL11.3);
neuve (id. IX.15). This form eu is found
also in Aue, et nie, although the older forms
are also found: — peus (15.2); seul (2.3.9);
oeul (14.20); avee (4.22); beuf (10.7)

In the present dialect of Bocky bovein
gives beü, and ovum > ü. "Même en
tobau ü" (Crim. Sat. VIII. 82); be (Frauc. Pic 1885:
§ 148). In the O. Pic. these words developed
in the same way as other words with tonic
e libre: — beuf (Aue. et nie, 10.7; 22.17);
bues (Hic 36.1); neve (Car. 117.3). In these
words, after the final consonant became
mute, the e in ue followed the same rule
as the other final unaccented e's, and

¹ Neumann - Laut- und Flexions-lehre im altfranz. p. 47,

dropped, leaving ü. This must have taken place before the q in either of these words passed to the state of qu in the satars. I find no example of qu in these two words in any Record list of the Thirteenth century. A similar contraction to that found in these words is found in puent (Chiv. as II Exp. 78.79.1)

(6) Lancü q entravé, remains q, as in French,

portant - port, voceum - ok,

mortum - mon, portum - por.

This was also q in o q é, and in clurap seen in rhyme from q from o o ü entravé^{1,2}.

¹ Münster - Chiv. as II Exp. XLII.

² Van Hamel - Recluse de Mallines CXXIV.

(C) Lamé Q + gad.

noctem > nüwät; cochim; ciwät;

coquere > ciwä; noct > nüwät.

This gives wät, except where followed by a pronounced consonant when it gives üi as in French. In all the modern Picard texts, however, it is always found as u since ü cannot ä does not belong to the phases of chinois, where all the modern texts at my disposal were published. This üi developed in the following way: a parasitic i was developed before the gad, giving ai, the Q then disappeared as uo, thus giving uoi, and, by the fall of the medial element, üi.

müi (Evon. selon St. Math. 2.14); kyüi (id. 3.4);

imüi (Crim. Sch. III. 43); edpüi (id. 10.53);

In the O.Pic. texts the same form is invariable:

cuite (Ch. du Vieux, III. 9); müt (Avec et Nio, 6.28)

nire (Alis. 32.7; 110.8); cuisine (id., 141.9).

In the Reclus de Malliens, Van Hamel finds this ue twice in rhyme with -ie, which proves that the diphthong was commencing at that time to be a rising one. In the old texts many examples of ue in rhyme with both i and e are found; - Contredit: niet (-anco, Johan 342²), unuei: maru (Rou. III 10270 A)³.

locum gives Loe, locum - Loe; locum - Loe. In these words the l gives the sound ae, except in locum where the f has been produced by the l⁴. In modern Picard texts the nasal sound is not indicated and we find fu (Hauc. Rē.

¹ Van Hamel - Reclus de Malliens. CXXX.

² Cited by Förstel - Chiv. as II Esp. XLIII.

³ Cited by Tabler - Aniel - p. xxv.

⁴ Schumann - Franz, Grammatik par. 108.

1881, p. 206; id 1888: p. 148; p. 161; Evang. selon St.

Matth. 3.1.5; Gal. 4.1.36, et suite 48).

Die Eulalia Los foe; die Frag. de Valenc. Los liee; die Alexius Los lee (279) and lie (1166)¹. In later O.Fr. documents, two forms are found for locum: - lee & lie. Eug. de Camb.: lee (202, 31); - lie (id 276, 2). In Eug. de Camb. foeum gives fus (186, 38); gus (228, 31). foeum in the same work gives fu (293, 5); fee (68, 27). In the Rom. de Cavité, foeum gives gus (62, 4); foeum & lie (187, 11). In the Cher. as II Exp it is generally fu from foeum².

¹ Lüchling. Mittelalt. Fr. 20.

² "Was feu (foeum) anlangt, so ist die pikard. Form fu, die sich auch mindestens hier findet, 711, 5003. ähnlich in (foeum) 1752, 8054. Da ue in späterer Zeit in der Aussprache mit eu zusammenfiel (bei feu, lee, ieu) wohl ursprünglich; doch steht öfter

In the Amel the forms are pus (283); lieu (32, 277).
It thus appears that the forms of the patois of
this Department of the Somme at present, - zû,
gû, fiu (and in some parts elsewhere specified,
zœ, lœ, foœ) are the same as those generally
found in the Picard Texts of the last half of
the twelfth, and the first half of the thirteenth
century.

The explanation given of these forms by
Lörcher² is that they came from the originals
*foevum, ioevum. Neumann develops these
forms through the principle of Labiodiphthongisation.
After the fall of the m in ioevum, the u
became semi-consonantal in the hiatus
before the vowel of the following word,

fue, bue in der "Vergines-Sandschrift von Tours"

Lörcher - Chev. as II Esp. x L.

¹ See p. 417

² Zeits. f. Rom. Ph. V. 591

giving joe, the e was then assimilated to the u, giving joeu, which was then reduced to jou, and the u lost its consonantal nature before a following consonant¹.

The weak point in this theory is that it explains the transformation of the e to u by assimilation to the following u, — a process unknown in other cases in French.

(d) Latinc e + nasal + davel.

honum > hon; luminem > lon,

sonum > son; comitem > cont; bonum > bon,

when followed by a pronounced consonant this remains e; when followed by a final nasal it becomes ẽ. In O.P.F., this became õ², and rhymed with õ from õ, u + nasal³.

¹ Zaits. für Rom. Ph. VIII. p 388 et sequ.

² Seruane - gramm. etc. p. 35. ³ id. p 80.

The vowel took an open sound in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries¹. The nasal sound continued in all cases even when followed by a single pronounced consonant till the seventeenth century². Nasalisation still exists in this latter case in the Château de la Roche: bonne: bonne (Lut. 108.6)

Bonum gives buwā. This was the most common form of the word in the Opic texts: bain (Lucet et Nic., 3.14; Chv. as II esp. 598; Aniel 38, 142, 220); bains (Chv. as II Esp. 7); caine (id. 424; Aniel 43, 213); but aus (Lucet et Nic. ...). In the documents examined by Henneman for the Lautund Flaxionslebte, he does not find the form bain, and he says it is very rare before the fourteenth century.

¹ Lucet in Gröber's Grammatik I. 588, ² id. I. 589.

Raynaud¹ says it does not exist before that time, but Neumann² quotes several examples. This form lain is found in O. Fr. in Flor et Blanche-flos, in the Liure des métiers, as well as in Picard. Janvaucoux cites from a charter of Encre (Albert) of 1304: "que lain fust saur le pourfit". In the Cél. Mor. the form is laen (108) which has, no doubt, the same pronunciation as lain (pron. lwaën). In Union the form is bon. In all parts of the Somme at present the pronunciation is lwaë. In the light of this, and the previous history of the word on Picard soil, the form found in Union is surprising and I am unable to account for it, except by assuming it

¹ Raynaud - Étude sur le dialecte picard dans le
Ponthieu - Bibl. de l'École des Ch., XXXVIII. p. 331)

² Neumann - Laut- und Flexionslehre - § 44

is pure French.

(1) Same \bar{u} + nasal + consonant.

longum : lō ; respondum : repons ;

portum : pō ; tendere : tōnd ; computum :

cōnt

According to Diez¹, \bar{u} was already a nasal vowel in the ninth century, and Suchier thinks that all the vowels were nasalised at the same time². The nasalisation deepened the sound of the open vowels in such a way that ō became identical with ō³. These both became open sounds in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries⁴.

¹ Diez - Grammatik I. 448.

² Suchier in Grober's Grundriss I. 576.

³ Suchier, loc. cit.

⁴ Suchier, Opus. cit. p. 588.

(7³) Voluntate q.

voluntatem > volonté; odoreum > odör;
honoratum > onore; rolere > roluer;
potere & habere > avér; tornare > turné;
tormentum > turné.

This remains q. Turne and Turnen
are forms borrowed from the French.
This original q continued as q till the
twelfth century, and from that time it
gradually became o in the Ile de France,
but the latter form never became universal,
and there are many words in the French of
the present day which still have the q in
this position¹. In contrast to the French,
the Picard has kept the q, and never
changed it to o. There is no reason for
supposing that in Picard this q became o.

¹. Förster - Romanische Studien III. 189.

and then, later, became o. In O. Pic. it is always represented by o, and never by u, as in Normanc: - tourne (Auc. et Nie. 7.1); tormente (id. 28.7); forée (id. 10.67); soldras (Car. 101.4); portait (Aniel 53); forrait (id. 91)

(9) o before u gives ö.

*potectum > phö; *navetum > mö;

*slavetum > slö.

According to Suchier, medial e before a following vowel became ö earlier in Picard than in the Ile de France¹. Yet in the patois of Achey the peu, meu & foeu are still maintained. These forms exist in the Rec. de Mallin: mëu (Mis. 133.10); pëu (Car. 10.8); but beside these, pleu (Mis. 18.8). In Auc. et Nie. none of these past participles occur,

¹ Auc. et Nie. p. 64,

nor in the Aniel, but in the latter we find the form sēu (5); nēus (118); fourvēus (117).

owing to the non-occurrence of these forms with o before u in the O.P.C. texts, it is difficult to ascertain when the e fell, or in what part of this territory it did fall. It certainly never fell in the patois of Cauchy, but the early forms pēu, mēu, plēu were, by contraction, changed to pō, plō, mō. The French passed through a process different from this: - the early forms pēu, mēu, plēu, changed to pēū, mēū, plēū - the u being found in the sixteenth century¹. These were, soon afterwards, contracted to pū, mū, plū, by the fall of the mute e.

¹. Darmesteter et Hatzfeld - Le Souterrain de France p. 207.

Treatment of o.

(a) laurē o -like becomes ö as in French.

odorare > odö; lorare > ör;

gaudiosum > güejö; illorum > -lö;

So also in all the modern Picard mor., ls. where it is transcribed by ee, but with the sound ö.

amateur (Canion. Sat. I. 33); malheureux (id. II. 1);

lentur (id. II. 26); linter (Évan selon St Matth. 4. 3)

douleux (id. 4. 24), ödier (id. 6. 17); houer (id. 16. 4)

reuer (Le Bontomme Pic. 1886 p. 93).

It gives the same result in all parts of the Department of the Somme. So also in the

Cél mor.: houer (31); malheureux (id. Suit 53);

grandeur (id. Suit, 148).

This o from aurē o ü is found in the oldest French manuscripts represented by o and u and rarely by oe.

¹. Lücking - Mundarten pp. 156 & 161.

The oldest of these forms are, of course, o and u, and the u points to the Norman dialect influence. ou is a later form, and in the Picard the o has passed to ou by the time of the Carité and Miserere. In the Ile de France o had already passed to the stage ee in the twelfth century¹. It thus appears that this ou from o survived longer in the Picard than in the Ile de France, for, in these two poems, composed, according to Van Hamel, the Carité between 1180 & 1190, and the Miserere four or five years later we find ou everywhere kept for o: - majour (Car. 4.9); seigneur (id 11.12); labour (id 80.10).

In the Ch. du Verun. of the first half of the thirteenth century we find both forms, and also forms with o: - one (VI.18); signor (I.14)

¹. See also in Götter's Grundriss I. 586.

lor (xiii. 6); trauve (xxvi. 23); Saur (xx. 10);
maieur (iii. 21); seigneur (iii. 5); neveu (v. 19);
seueur (ix. 4). The forms in eu are the most
 frequent. In Anc. et Nic. the three forms are
 found: amor (43), amorous (272); ancissor
 (29. 12); forceur (16. 23); melleuox (8. 13);
mervelleus (2. 2). In the Aniel (about 1291) the
 usual form is eu, although o is found;
ou only appears in nous and sous, melleur (46);
pitous (63); seigneur (204, 406); lor (23).
 These forms have thus appeared as the
 development of Latin ō, ū, at different times:-
o, ou, eu. It appears from the foregoing,
 no precise date can be given for the passage
 of o to ou. In Picard the time of the passage
 of ou to eu was the thirteenth century.
 Although this o has ultimately arrived at

¹ Neumann - Lambert Lexiconaire in Alfpron p. 45

the same result as Tonic o -labre, it has done so through a different series of changes.

The following appears to have been the development of Tonic o -labre: - o > ô > ou > oué > ee.

In the dialect of the Ile de France - it developed to ee in the time of the century¹ - earlier than in the Picard. It did not develop to ee in the Normans², nor in the Lorrains.

(b) Tonic o -entravé, becomes u

surdum > sur; divinum > zur;
gutlame > gut; bucculame > bluk;
mothum > meu; dossum > du.

There are certain parts of the Tonnus in which o -entravé remains o. This is the case on the north of Tonnus in the region encompassed by the three points Villers-Bocage, Daullens, & Achenx. Here they pronounce

¹ Such is in Gröber's *Grundriss* I. 586. ² Such. Soc. Cit.

for ... for ... for ... for ...



This is the form found in the monuments of the
 o. P. i. : for (Aurethre. 2.3.31) ; for (id. 6.27; 249)
 In this work I find no form with re. In the
 Cl. du Verre, both forms are found: for (xx.10)

Caunt (II. 21), taupins (IX. 18) : tole (XIII. 5) : for
(VI. 9). In the Recueil de Mallens this gives
ous which rhymes with the ous from tauc
o libre¹. In the Aniel I find no example of
o, but always ou : taus (22); four (80);
four (28). In the Cél. Mes. the usual form
is ou, but forms with o are found : -
toujour (ibid. 83); four (id. 84); oforduy (id. 39);
Tou (12); Ca (2. pron to).

The o in this class of words first passed to
ou (from u) before r and l². The passage
of o to ou seems to have been completed in
Picard (except in districts already indicated) by
the end of the thirteenth century³.

In the modern Picard works this is always
found as ou : - toujours (Carnon I. 13);

¹ Van Hamel - Rec. de Mall., CXXV. ² Schwan - Gramm.
p. 33. ³ See remark on forms in the Aniel

troup (id. III. 2); four (Evan. selon St Math. 4. 2);
bouh (id. 15. 8); sauv (id. 17. 14); Saurd (id. 13. 15).
 The forms mu, pu, du are not found in
 all parts of the Somme but only in the
 following district: East part of the département
 south of Sains; the Launoy, beginning on the
 south-east of Amiens at Boves, Cauchy, and
 Corbie, and extending east to Rosières.
 In other parts we find mo, po, do.



"Beze" reproached the people of Berry and Lyon
 for saying du for do. Coming from the
 Southern regions, undoubtedly from Lyons, this
 pronunciation was accredited at the Courts of
 Henry II, Charles IX, and Henry III². Father
 Chiffet said in his grammar (1659):—"J'ay veu
 de temps que presque toute la France estoit
 pleine de chausces". Faufit³ (profit) is found
 in a charter of Brece in 1304. Examples
 of this change of o to u are very numerous
 in Crivon, both in laic and cleric syllables:-
domestiques (Lat. I. 4); bonnets (I. 10); toujours
troupe febote (I. 16); downnere (I. 21); coucheons
 (I. II. 7); pardounner (I. II. 36); philousofle (II. 39)
ouraison (II. 38); s'proum'ner (V. 10);
 Since this change was introduced in the north

¹. Quoted by Darmesteter et Hatfield - Le Seiz. - l'éc. en Fr. p 203
². *Op. cit.* p 203. ³. Jouancoux - Glossaire S.V. boin

under courtly influence, it is not strange that the district indicated is the place where it is still retained. Near the centre of this district is Corbeil - which was situated, under the First Monarchy, one of the most wealthy and flourishing abbeys of France. The court pronunciation was carried to this abbey, and from it spread among the peasants living in the neighborhood.

(C) Lois o + god.

croceum > krui; gloriam > glawer;'

roceum > rués. The first ue when followed by a pronounced consonant; when final it becomes ui..

At Chaulnes. Reims, Soissons &c. that is, in the part of the Santerre in which the patois of the Vermandois has penetrated, the sound ui, ue, of the patois of Cauchy is o.

vo, kro. This is the pronunciation given by Corblet¹. In the o-pie texts this gives generally oi and already rhymes with oi from toine & libre, and oi from au+god, at the end of the twelfth century².

Stengel³ says the change from oi to o is peculiar to the East French dialects, but Neumann⁴ has shown examples also in the Normandois: - memare, avor, glove.

In the forms found in the patois of Cauchy, a parasitic i was developed before the god, and this united with the o to form the diphthong which developed in sound in the same way as the oi from other sources⁵.

¹. Glossaire - S.V. ². Von Hamel - Reclus de Malliens CXXIX.

³. Zeits. für Rom. Phil. I. 478.

⁴. Neumann - Laut- und Flexionslehre im Altfranz. p. 33.

⁵. See development of toine & libre p.

(d) o + nasal + consonant;

profundum > profō; rotundum > rō;

ongulam > ōng. This gives ō, which has the same history as ō from o + nasal + consonant.

In the combination o + m + n the m was assimilated to the n, and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the nasal sound disappeared:-

columnam > colōn,

annonam > ānōn.

(e) o + nasal + vowel,

donum > dō; monerum > mōnē;

nomen > nō; donat > dōn; personam >

pēson. This produces ō when from the

combination o + nasal + any vowel except a.

In the combination o + nasal + a the a does not

1. See p. 81

fall but becomes mute ϵ before which the preceding consonant is pronounced, and the o has the pure vowel sound from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries¹.

The history of this combination is the same as that given under $o + \text{nasal} + \text{vowel}$ ².

(f) Rhotonic o before an oral consonant.

coportare > kuvert; probare > pruvi;

nodare > nui; dohitare > duti; dobare > dui

This becomes u. In the earliest French monuments this was o, and at the end of the twelfth century it was at the transition stage between o & u. Both forms are found

in the Reclus de Moulens, although the forms in o predominate :- douter (ou = u; Mis 107.5);

noer (Car. 102.4); provant (Car. 97.11); esprové (Mis 125.1); escouer (Mis 49.7)

¹ See section on $o + \text{nasal} + \text{const. } p$.

² See p. 81

(9) Pretense o followed by a nasal, remains o.

sonare > soné; communare > komœ;

donare > doné; nominare > loné; montare >

mônté. When followed by a nasal +

Consonant it becomes ô.

In the early monuments the oo, in all cases,

ô, and has the same history as o + nasal + vowel¹.

(10) o + Consonant + yod.

horare > glœr, solonare > bulzô;

memorare > mémœr.

With regard to the development of this combination there are two theories: (a) That the yod was attracted into the tonic syllable; (b) That the yod developed a parasitic i before the preceding consonant. The objection raised to the first

¹ See p-81

theory is that the *yod* cannot pass over the preceding consonant: Against the second theory it may be urged that forms such as glorie, memorie are found in the twelfth century¹, - at a time when the development of *parasitic i* in all other words was already complete. The occurrence of these forms in the twelfth century, and the unvarying forms glorie, memoire etc in the next century seem to make the first theory the more tenable.

The forms glorie, memore, are regular for the Eastern dialects, but they are also found frequently in the *Opie*, texts²: - memore (*His* 82.11); glorie (*His* 82.3); memore (*Ch du Veren*, XV, 11; *Band de Cande*, 323, 1596, 368, 2871³); glorie (*Phil. Mous.* 1688.)

¹ Littré - *Dict. Fran.* s.v. ² Neumann - *Lautkund. Flexionslehre* - p 39. ³ Cited by Neumann. *op. cit.* p 40.

Such forms as these are due to the influence of the Eastern dialects, and are not to be found to-day in the patois of Cauchy.

After the attraction of the i to the tonic syllable, the oi rhymed with oi from tonic & like, and oi from oi + something i, from the beginning of the thirteenth century¹, and its subsequent history is the same as that given for oi from tonic & like².

(1) Bretonic o.

dotare > doi; dobitare > duti;

notare > noir, notare > noir.

This has given two results in the patois, - 1st & 2nd
The first is the retention of the old form, and the second is the later form.

noir (Anc. et. ric. 40. 32; 36. 11); noir (Bar 61. 5)

¹ Schwann - Grammatik p. 76

² See p. 53

noirist (Mis 10-9.12); deuter (Car. 33.9; Mis 107.8;
62.10); doublement (Mis 53.12).

Before r the o seems to have been always
retained in the *Recueil de Noëliens*; but in the
Ch. du Bernand. it is found as ou (u) in this
position: - demeures (XXVI, 22); accoustume (
XXII, 42); bourgeois (II.3). It appears to have
passed first to ou (u) before a dental, as
the form in o is not found in this position in
the *Rec. de Noëli*.

In the *première* the o sometimes falls.

Com + mandare > kmāndē, Com + initiare >
kmēnšē. No longer supported by the
accent this vowel degenerated in fullness,
until it took the same sound as 'e'. From the
sound of e, it passed to that of ɛ, and then fell².
It has then passed through the following stages:

ō > ō̄ > o > ɛ > ɛ.

¹ Beyer - Phonetik p. 23

² Beyer - *Opus. cit.* p. 23.

Supplement to the treatment of tonic & libre.

In the patois there is a number of adjectives which offer difficulty in the treatment of their termination. These are:-

mas. fem mas. fem.

maladju maladjüz näju näjüz
kräentju kräentjüz pusju pusjüz.

Forms corresponding to these are found in the Wallonian: mas, maladie¹, fem, maladieuse, poussie², & poussieux, maladie³.

Corresponding forms are found also in O. Pic.: antie (Nis. 27.2); Lastie (Car. 110.10; Nis. 27.12; 64.3; 283.5); -lextie (Car. 110.8; Nis. 27.1). La Cenne de Sainte-Palaye⁴ also gives two forms antif and antie for the O. French, and maladeux,

¹ Tonic - Dict.: Liège-franc s.v. ² Vermesse - Dict.
du Pat. wall. s.v. ³ Ligant - Dict. du wall. de Mons s.v.

⁴ Dict.: de l'Ancien français s.v.

maladien, and maladienx, lootien, & lootiif.
Fauheit gives maladeux, loteux, but crainte,
fausse. The form paussienx is cited
by Littré² from the thirteenth century, and
Burguy³ gives the form loastien.

In the modern French these forms end in
f in the masc. and ve in the fem.

The modern wallonian form maladien,
and the old form maladien (whether, old
French, old Picard, or old wallonian, is
immaterial, as they all developed Tanie o
in the same way) takes us back at once
to a form from the termination - iozum.
But if this had developed in the patois of
Liège according to the rule for anie o,
there we should have had mälädjō,
whereas, it has given mälädjü. It has

¹ Dict. du Centre de la France s. v. ² Dict.

franç. s. v. ³ Grammaire de la langue franç. s. v.

already been shown that, in the patois,
Drum gives djü, and the change from the
old form mälädjö to mälädjü has probably
been brought about by a supposed
connection in the popular mind between
djü and the termination of the adjective, and
in accordance with this changed form of
the masculine, the feminine has been
changed from the old form mälädjöz, to
the form mälädjüz. After the analogy
of these words the other adjectives
given in the above list have undergone
a like change in the patois.

while therefore, in the Picard and
Wallonian, this termination has developed
from an original termination - isum,
the modern French forms in -ie (masc),
and -ive (fem.) have developed from
an original termination - ivum for the
masc. and -iva for the fem.

Treatment of re.(a) Ionic re like*rendutum > rēndae; *rmutum > uodē;*redutum = voē; *solutum = sō;*intēndutum > ēntēndae; neidum > nō;lunam > lōn; maturum > mōr;securum > sōr, shunam > šlōn;

In 3rd participles it became ae, except in *solutum, *mouitum, *bloccutum, *laputim, where it became pō, mō, plō, sō.

The Picard forms of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were pēu, mēu, plēu, sēu¹. These forms developed in Picard differently from the French development, in the latter they passed from sēu to sēē. In Picard the accent remained on the first component, and by contraction it became sō.

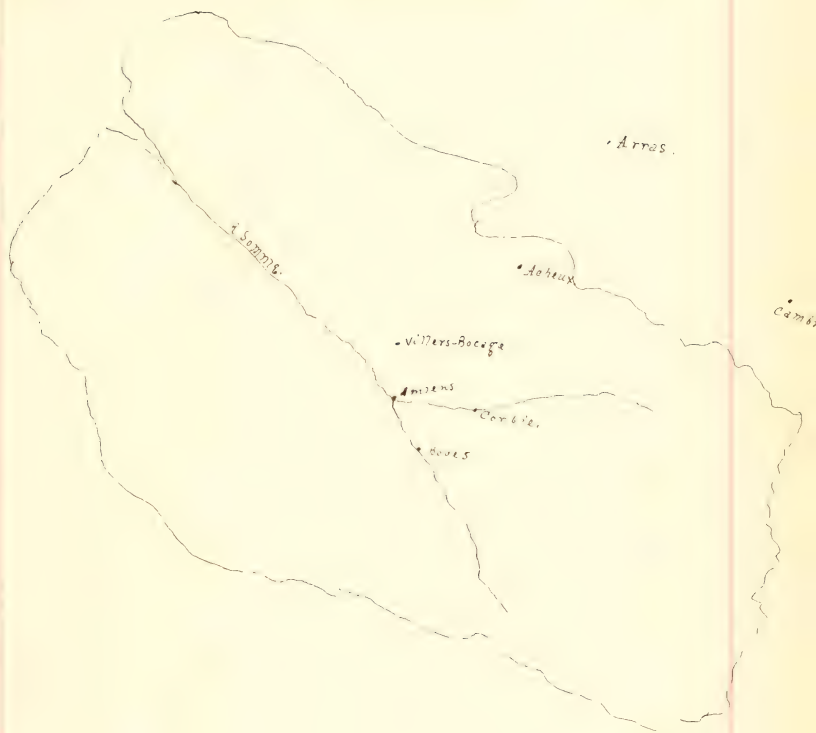
¹ See p.

For the change of u to œ in other words
see p. 117 maturum & securum have developed
to mœr and sœr in the same way as the
lost participles like sœ, by the fall of the
preceding intervocalic consonant.

In some parts of the Saône, viz.: in the
Cantons of Villers-Bocage, Acheux, and the
northern parts of Corbie and Boucs the tonic
u libre is diphthongised to ö, for example
they say in this district föm, (fumo); könfitör;
kültör; lön; plöm etc. Owing to the

close proximity of this district to Cauchy, we
find that the latter is, in the treatment of tonic
u libre, a mixed patois, and this accounts
for such forms as föme, löne etc.

ö from tonic u libre is not found in any
of the O.P.C.'s texts. This diphthongisation of u
to ö is common in the wallonian, and the
locality in which these forms are found in the



Source: saints & the wallonian s. the source of
then, the following forms are wallonian:
leunn (Foris. dict. Liège-franc. s.v.); leunner (Vermesse
dict. du wall. s.v.); leunmide (id. s.v.); leunmerotte
(id. s.v.); leunette (id. s.v.); pleunne (id. s.v.);
pleunnecke (id. s.v.); pleunnet (id. s.v.), pleunnette
(id. s.v.); pleunne (depart. dict. du wall. de Mons. s.v.).

In Crinon the forms pléne (I. 24), and
plémier (I. II. 38) are found, but these are
probably inaccurate transcriptions, as the forms
are neither justified by the wallonian nor by the
Gatais in the neighborhood of Reims.

- (b) Gauie ü entravé. becomes ü, as in French.
jüstüm → jüst, nullam → nüel;
bullam → üül

- (c) Gauie ü + God.

fructum > früi'; conducat > kōndüri';

lucet > lüi'; destructum > détrüri.

A parasitic *i* was developed before the *yod*.
This had originally the sound ü (üi).

Two examples are found in the *Rec. de Mall.*,
in which üi rhymes with i¹, although in all
other cases it rhymes with üi². These two
cases show that at this time (end of the
twelfth century) üi was becoming a rising
diphthong in Picard.

The rhyme üi : i is found in the Norman in
the second quarter of the twelfth century³.

ire : destruire (Baut 13558). For the French,
the rhyme üi : i dates from the second
half of the twelfth century³.

¹ Schwann - Grammatik 577.

² Van Hamel - *Rec. de Mall.*, cxxx.

³ Schwann - Grammatik p. 77

(d) Before a, it becomes ü.

durante > dürä; justitiam > züstid;

humanum > ümäe; munus > münix.

In the district already noted, and for the reason there assigned ho becomes ö in

furare > föme, plumare > plömi;

humanum > iömän.

(e) ü + nasal + consonant, or ü + consonant + small vowel except a.

defunctum > deftö. Veradunum >

Verdöe; unum > öe. This becomes äe,

as in French.

In all the cases written in accordance, ü in this position, rhymes with ü before an oral consonant². The statement made by Schlie³

1. S. 106

2. Schwann - Grammatik p. 81

3. In Gröber's Grundriss I p. 576.



that all the vowels took the nasal sound at the same time, is incorrect so far as u is concerned. Nasal u was unknown to Palaeografe (1530), and Dubois states also that in un the u had the pure vowel sound². It was only in the second half of the sixteenth century that u had, in this position, the nasal sound au³.

Transformation of au

(a) au in au libre. becomes o

claudere > clon ; pauperum > pon ;
aurum > or , auset > os .

For this au, o was found in a few of the Latin inscriptions before the time of Augustus. In Peto, Vanno and Testus it is

¹ Damescheter et Halzfeld - Le Suiz. siècle en France p. 214.

² id. p. 214 ³ id. p. 214.

more common, and is nearly always found before d, t, l, r, and maybe s¹. The au sometimes also passed into ū before d, t and s². The following is the development of au to o given by Lücking³: - au > ōu > ōō > ōō > ō (= o). There was first regressive assimilation of the a to the u by which the former was changed to ō; then regressive assimilation of the u to the ō, in which the former was changed to ō', and later to ō; that this was an open o is shown by the assurances of the S.Fr., and also by the evidence of the other Romance languages e.g. the Italian⁴. In the Daths, Eulalia and Stenius this gives o, but in the Leodegar we also find au (Causa 35a)

¹ Lücking - Mundarten p. 139.

² Corssen - Aussprache des Lat. I. 660

³ Lücking - Mundarten p. 140. ⁴ id. p. 140

and so also in the *Passion*¹. In all the early texts distinctively Picard, this is found as o and rhymes with o².

(c) *laine* ae preceded by *yo*d

causam > köz ; candam > kö.

In this class of words the ae must first have passed to o, and this o has been treated in the same way as *laine* o libre, and diphthongised to ö. It has already been shown at how early a period this change of ae to o took place, — a period long before the diphthongisation of original ö. In all the early Picard texts, however, this o is still maintained: coses (Ch du Vrain, xxxix.11); choses (id. xl.22); cose (Mis. 52.3); cose (Amel 121)

¹ Zücking - *Manuscrits* p. 140.

² See misereere. Stroffe 1x.

du Caire this is found as o :- coze (Lot. VII.7; V.48)
 and so also in the Franc-Pic. 1881. p 207. In the
 Evang. selon St Math. both forms are found:
keuz (S. 11; S. 32); koz (S. 23); In the Suite du Cl.
 Mor. coze (42). As I fail to find the form
 with eu (ö) in any work previous to the
 present generation, I am unable to show
 whether it has long existed in the patois alongside
 of the probably more frequent coze, or is of recent
 origin.

(C) Tonic or pretonic au + consonant + yod.

paudra > jué, paudraum > juéjō.

*causire > juéjir; *abaubiare > abuéji.

This au became o at an early period¹, and
 is found as o in the same early texts as
 mentioned for au au², and as au for

¹ Lücking - Mundarten p. 140. ² See p. 112

the same texts in which au remains^{1, 2}.
 In the early texts distinctively Picard, it is
 found as o. This o unites with a parasitic
i³ developed by the yod to produce the diphthong
oi, which is found in rhyme with o in the
 Alexis³. From the beginning of the thirteenth
 century this oi is found in rhyme with ai
 from tonic é libre, and ai from o + parasitic
i⁴. This is found as ai in all the d. Pic.

Texts:- Coisir (lls. 208:3); joie (lls 131, 7; Am et
Mic. 1.14)

(U) Pretonic ae.

sausage > sozi; sausage > lue;

sausage > juir; sausage > auir;

sausage > ozi; sausage > aluel.

¹ See p 112

² Lücking - mundarten p 141.

³ Schwan - Grammatik p. 76. ⁴ ib. p 76

this force in the early French manuscripts.
o¹, but in the Fragment de Valence, the Prophètes,
 and the Passion, it remained au². It is
 found with o in the O. Pic. texts: - loer
 (Car. 91.11; 94.3; Mis. 88.12); oser (Mis. 9.5);
joir (Car. 218.2; Mis. 166.5); oir (Aue et Vie 1.1; 11.11)
 ... o was found in association and rhyme with
o from about twice o in O. Fr.³, and in the
Reclus de Mallicous it generally rhymes only with
o⁴ and very rarely with o⁴. While
 pretanic o from original o has remained o
 in the Saks. pretanic o from original au
 has been diphthongised to u except before s,
 where the o is kept. In its treatment of this
au the Saks. has developed exactly as the
 French.

¹ Lücking - Handbuch S. 40. ² id. S. 143.

³ Schwann - Grammatik p 37. ⁴ Van Hamel - Recl. de Mallicous, CXXVIII

In avoir. I find no initial a in any Picard text which I have examined. It is probably rather the agglutination of the preposition à to the verb, and has arisen through the use of such expressions as: J'ê à uiré re, and hence, J'vo avoir, or is the agglutination of the third person singular present indicative of the auxiliary avoir: il a uiré, and hence il a auiré. From Picard texts I am unable to produce any proof in confirmation of either theory.

The final nasal sound œ.

This is a sound produced by only half closing the nasal passage in the pronunciation of French nasal œ. This sound is heard in the patois in the pronunciation of the final i and u of all past participles which in the old texts have these terminations, and also in the

pronunciation of some other words which had

¹ For similar agglutination of the prep. à French see Bartholomew L. 636.

final i or u, and which have been noted
from time to time in the preceding pages
all final i's and u's. have not, however, this semi-
nasal sound and I am unable to give even
general rules as to its use.

The sound has been produced by a careless
articulation of final i and u. In the production
of the pure vowels i and u, nearly all the
muscles in the front of the mouth are brought
into action whereas in the production of this semi-
nasal sound, there is only a slight tension of a
few of the muscles between the mouth and the
nasal cavity. The origin of this sound is,
therefore due to the law of least action.

There appears to be a corresponding nasal
sound in similar cases, but of rare occurrence,
in the Burgundian dialect; which I find denoted
by the addition of a final morgraphic n in the
Noëls Bourguignons of Bernard de la Monnoye

venum (for venu) p. 4; nainin (for nenni p. 6);
venun : comun (p. 16). In the first fifty pages
of this work there are the only words in which
I find this morpheme final nasal.

The consonants

the Labials : B.

(a) Initial b, remains

ponum > buraē, blasphemare > blāmi.

So also in all cases in O.Pic.: pain (Auc et Nic. 3.14); blasmer (Can. 168:8)

By the addition of the prosthetic e, the b may
lose its initial place, cf. ébālōnē (= Fr. balance)

(b) Intervocalic b, becomes the voiced labial v

debere > douē; liburnum > iuer;
caballum > gvo.

So also in O.Pic. devés (Auc et Nic. 10.41);

ceval (Anc. etn. 2, 8, 19)

In Gibacariane the introduction is recomes q in the patois, while it remains in French gibecière. In Cauchy it is Zipesper, and the same form is found in a document quoted by Jannetoux: - "un fusil de maître avec la gibecière" - Inventaire à Lincelles 1774.

In gabelinum the g is changed to the voiced velar q in Cauchy - qoglet. A similar change is found in the name of a village seven kilometres north-east of Corbie, where Ribemont, is pronounced by the peasants - Rignô.

(C) l before t becomes the voiced labial v
librum > liv; labrum > lev,
siperum > pucv; liberare > livre.

This change had already taken place in the O.P.C.

¹. Glossaire p. II. S. V

livrer (Mis. 188.7) Car 186.4); livre (Aue etrie. 40.22);
leure (24.19)

(d) Treatment of bb.

abbatium > abé; sabbati+diem > sāmdi

This is reduced in all cases to b, as was
generally the case in the O.Pie. texts¹: abé (Car.
103.1). In sāmdi, the same change has taken place
as in French

(e) b before a dental falls as in French.

cubillum > cōk; dubitare > dutē;

So also in O.Pie: clauter (Car. 33.9) Mis 107.8);

claute (Mis 46.12)

(f) b before s falls.

obocunum > oskür; abstenire > āstnir.

¹. See note on reduction of double consonants. p

obstinatum > ostinè

This also fell in all cases in O.Pic. i- asteris (Car. 214.6; Mis. 10.4; 152.11); oscur (Mis 56.2; Car. 182.8); oscurte (Mis 207.8).

Previous to the sixteenth century, the o had fallen also in the French in this case, but was restored both in spelling and pronunciation through the learned influences of that time. The patois has kept the older sounds, and the learned influence does not appear in it.

(g) b before n falls.

galbinum > gân; and its derivative gânir. It had already fallen before the time of the Roland, gâlne (CXIII)

(h) b after m falls.

¹ Darmesteter et Holtzfeld - Le Lüz, Diele en France p. 222.

gambae > gām; and its derivative agāmi
(enjambe); unbrae > om; tombare > tōmi.

The b was retained in this case in O.Pic.:-

onbre (Ane et nie. 12.32); ganbe (Ane et nie. 2.11)

(2) b after other consonants remains.

lebrae > erb; albae > ob.

It also remained in O.Pic; auke (Car. 74.6);

lerbergier (Ane et nie. 38.15); auhere (id. 9.7).

(3) b + god becomes the voiceless guttural $\frac{g}{g}$

rubeum > ruġ; rabieum > raġ;

caveam > kōz; libiam > liġ.

This change probably took place in the following manner:- A parasitic d arose between the b and the god, giving bdj; then the labial fell, as it always does before a dental, giving dj, which became $\frac{g}{g}$, through the same process of change by which the dj in diurnum &c became $\frac{g}{g}$.

¹ See full treatment of this p 209

This was already $\frac{1}{2}$ in the o.p.c.; rafe (Alc 61.12);
rouge (Bar 30.11; 52.4)

(4) In the patois no b was inserted between the
Latin combination l-m.

simulare > sàni; m+simul > ènsè.

"Et vo féré sianon, qu'ò ne m'ave' tougué" (Sinté du
Cél. Mar. 40); "Lu n' trones pourant peindant
deux jours el fièvre" (Ciron. Sat. II. 42)

The non-insertion of this b is the general rule in
o.p.c. lists¹; although examples are found, no
doubt due to the influence of the dialects of the Ile
de France, and Normandy, in which it is interpolated
asoulent (Aue et Nic. 21.1); but ensamble (14.23);

¹ "Die Hilfslaute d und b, welche in normannischen
und francischen zwischen gemässen Consonantengruppen
(l-r, n-r, m-l) zu entstehen pflegen, fehlen in
Picardischen" - Ducloux - Aue et Nic. p. 58.

Sanblait (32, 19; 36, 6) rusanle (Mis 122, 7);
sander (Mis. 209, 10); sanlanche (Car. 41, 2);
rusanle (Chev. as II Esp. 678); sanles (id. 3788);
Lumlement (5064)

(1) The final Latin Combination l + vowel + l.

The result of this combination varied in the O.Pic.
texts. For the Aniel Toller thinks the u of the
Nis. had the value v, and placed this in his list:-

canitavles (Aniel 63); veritavles (id. 64);

dontnavles (id. 321); gardonnables (id. 322).

In Aue et nie, and the Rec. de Mall. it is found as
l:- contefable (Aue et nie. 41, 24); Estable (id. 20, 28);
esperitable (id. 37, 14); amiable (Car. 127, 1); amirable (id. 127, 2); caritable (id. 127, 4). In the Ch. du
Vermand. it is found with u:- saiaules (xx 11, 42);
taillaule (xxxvii, 20). Toller¹ thinks this u had
the sound of v for all O.Picard texts, and in

¹ Toller - Aniel. - xxxvii

this view he is supported by Neumann¹. In the Char. du Rouilleu, Raynaud finds u also, and pronounces it v, and is supported by G. Paris², who says this is a case in which a careful comparison with the present patois would be of great use. In the present patois of Cauchy, b + vowel + l gives two results: - b & v. The pronunciation of the older people is always tāu. (tabulau), but the Laure has encroached extensively, and the younger people pronounce it tāu. It is evident from this, that, at no very remote period, the pronunciation of this termination was always v.

In the Liut du Cél. Mar. I find the rhyme tāu:
raue (629)³. These words are also written with a v in Chiron: tāu (I. II. 174); raue (I. II. 18);

¹ Neumann - Laut und Flexionslehre im Altfranz. p. 116.

² Romania II. 617.

Etave (L.II, 7). This b does not become e in any part of the lamine. The evidence of the modern gatais, seems therefore, so far as the lamine is concerned, to confirm the opinion of Tobler, Neumann, Raynaud, and F. Paris, that the e of the o.Pie. M.S. had the sound of v.

Treatment of P.

(a) Initial p before vowels remains as in o.Pie.

populum > pöp; punctum > puāe;

parabolam > pārol;

o.Pie.:- paint (Auc et Nic. 20.31); parole (id. 8.36);

piu (Car. 36.1); piour (Mis. 11.12)

(b) Initial p before a consonant remains as in o.Pie.

placere > placzi; probare > prawi;

prehendere > prē.

o.Pie.:- plauer (Car. 82.9); prendre (Mis. 52.5);

pris (Mis 78.5); prime (Aue et Nic. 18.6); plaire
(id. 10.78)

From the word actit, which existed in O.Pic.
(Aue et Nic. 1.3; 4.26; Bar. 6.2; Mis 1.11), the form
ptjot was formed in modern Pic., at a time
when the r between consonants had not yet
fallen. When this r fell, it became ptjot, but
as p before t always falls in the patois of
Picquy, as in French², this has become tjot in
the patois of to-day. The form ptjot is still
heard in the patois of Villers-Bretonneux.

(d). ^{In French} Interrogative p. becomes the raised labial v, as
sapere > savuer; ripam > rio
apertum > aver.

So also in O.Pic.: - sarons (Aue et Nic. 39.28.)

¹. Cf. Corblet - Glossaire - S.V.

². Selmann - Grammatik p. 45-

vine (id. 28.8); Canerka (Mis. 38.7); Conert (Mis 95.7)
Savaier (Aniel 1). In the Miserece, however, the
 form dessabaure occurs, rhyming with laboure
 (Mis. 159.1), but in the same text the form
dessavaure (Mis. 256.1) is found. The form with
b is an archaism. In order that p should become
v it was necessary for it to pass through the
 intermediate stage b, and this form shows that
 stage.

(d) p before r becomes the voiced labial v
 as in French.

siperem > buér; sepenane > seuri,
co+openire > kuvrir

This change had already taken place before the time
 of the O. Pic. texts: - seurer (Mis. 185.6); conert
 (id 95.7)

(e) Intervocalic pp is reduced to p as in O. Fr.

stuppam > ētip; capponem > kāpō;

cappellam > kāpel.

O. Pic.: capelier (Mis. 195.9); caperon (Car. 69.8;
109.6); capel (Car. 115.12); apeler (Anc. et Nic. 4.3)

(f) p before a dental is assimilated to the dental as in French, and then a reduction to a single dental takes place:

accapitare > akāti; ruptam > rut;

lapidum > tjed

O. Pic.: acater (Anc. et Nic. 2.29; 3.10); rade (Car. 87.7; Mis. 175.4).

This combination has developed in the following way: pt (or pd) > bt > tt > t.

(g) p before s falls as in French.

metipsimum > mem; scripsi > ēkroē;

capsam > kās.

¹ See note on the reduction of double consonants in O. Pic. p.

So also in O.P.C.: meisme (Aue et Nic. 48; 6.44)
casse (Par. 70.3; Mis. 96.2); escrist (Mis. 236.8)

(2) Final ϕ after a liquid falls as in French.

campum > kā; calpum > kō; corpus >
kor.

The ϕ is found in O.P.C.: camp (Aue et Nic. 26.22);

coup (Mis 108.2), except in corpus where it

fell before the dental s, - cors (Aue et Nic. 2.11)

Ull the sixteenth century this final ϕ was still
 pronounced in French but from that time the
 tendency to unite the terminations -ap, -op, -ep,
 -oup, -amp, in rhyme with the terminations -at,
 -a, -é, -et, -ot, -out, -ant, began¹.

¹ Thurot - De la Prononciation française Vol II. p. 121.

Treatment of V.

(a) Initial V remains as in French.

videre > vir; vivere > viv; valere >
valuer; vitrum > vit.

O. Pic. :- voic (Aniel. 33); verites (id. 39);
valurent (Rich li Biaux 12); vlesteure (id. 168).

In the patois venimeux has become grimö. This form is given by Corblet, but, in all the O.Fr. glossaries, the word is given with an initial V. It has also preserved the initial V in those dialects surrounding the Picard :- Norm. velimö; Wall. Vilmö. I do not know of a like change of initial v-n to gr in any other word, and think that this change cannot possibly be a purely phonetic development. The change is probably due to a crossing, in the mind of the peasant, of the old form venimö, with grimäs. The grimäs

¹ Glossaire - S. V.

caused by the loss of what was venimö,
 caused a crossing between the word denoting
 the result, and the word denoting the cause.
 Examples of similar crossing in French are:
fallain, oreste, triers.

(6) Interrocalic y remains as in French.

vivat > viv ; levat > iöv ; leware > lvi ;
devenire > dnir ;

OPic.: devinent (Aue et Nic. 34.16) ; leueu (id.
 2.30) ; vivier (Car. 104.7) ; viveche (Car. 112.4)

In certain cases it disappears as in French:-

vivenda > vjan^{*}. Here it has disappeared through
 dissimilation. In this word it had already fallen
 in O.Pic.: viande (Mis 20.10).

In pör, which G. Paris² derives from parorem,
 the dental labial y was assimilated to the

¹ Suchier in Gröber's Grundriss I. 629. ² Romania X. 46.

The labial vowel on each side of it, and became the labial vowel ü. The ü was afterwards fused with the following é.

In pavonem, which has become pā a similar change has taken place: pavonem > pauon > paon > pā.

Chamvairium, or according to some, Chalybarium, has given kāribāri in the patois.

Littre (S.V.) says the word is unknown in O.Fr. before the fourteenth century, and all the examples he gives after that time have a v, — chalivani, or charivari. Scheler² gives for the O.Fr. caribari, and chalivali. The forms chalivari, or chanivari, might come from either of the two Latin types given above. The form kāribāri would indicate that it is a word

¹ G. Paris - Romania x. 46.

² Diezmann's rhym. S.V.

of learned origin from a type Chalybarium. It may be that the original form in French was Chanibari, and that the termination bari has been changed to vari after the analogy of other popular expressions denoting noise, such as :- Laurvari, boulevari, but that the original form has been kept in the patois of Caely. But the insufficient material given in the glossaries renders it impossible to say positively what the original form was.

(C) v before r :- "v" remains as in French.
vivere > vi ; salvare > sovi.

O.Pie. :- vivre (Car. 4.3) ; sauver (Mis 78.7)

(d) v before a dental or dental nasal falls as in French. vivit > vi ; civitate > sité ;
juvenere > jon : O.Pie. cité (Quest 17.19) ; In, juvenere, however, the v was still

retained at the time of the Rec. de Hall. : jouene
(Mis 218,1; 219,5)

(2) final v.

ovum > ü ; bovum > bü ; novum > nü ;
vivum > vif ; nervum > nerf ;
serum - serf.

After a diphthong it falls, and in other cases it becomes the voiceless labial f. After a diphthong it became mute about the middle of the twelfth century, but it still continued to be written in all texts :-

neuf (Auc. et Ric. 10, 7; 22, 17); neuf (Car. 146, 4); before the s of the nominative case, however, it was dropped in all cases.

In O. Pic., as in O. Fr., all final voiced consonants became voiceless.

1. Gröber in Zeits. für Rom. Ph. II. 461.

(f) Words of Germanic origin which had an initial w in German.

Old - wastjan > wätē; N.H.G. waſtel > wätſö; O.H.G. warten > wärdē; O.H.G. wāg > wäg.

The process of bi-lingual crossing has taken place in these words. The initial part of these words is not taken from the latinised form of the Germanic original, but the Germanic initial is kept and the rest of the word comes from a latinised base.

The same has taken place in these words in French, but, while the Picard has kept the Germanic w the French has changed it in accordance with French phonetic laws.

Other examples in French of bi-lingual crossing are: - haut, which owes the h to German influence,

¹ See also in Gröber's *Grammatics* I. 630

also Lalaigue¹.

This initial w is found in the Ch. du Vermand.

wage (XXVI.5); warandise (II.19); werpie (III.9);
werpiert. (VIII.5); Williame (XXIX.5).

In the Wallonian these words have been treated
in the same way as in Picard: - water,
watiau, wander², wach, wafé, wageûr,
windé³, w'wéri, wazô⁴.

In Cuchy o.H.G. wat has given gé. In this case the
French word has been adopted into the patais.

In the Patais there are two words in which
the initial w is not due to German influence,
but comes from initial vu of the o.Pic.;
these are wid, and widi, which in o.Pic.
were vuit (Can 10.4); and vuidier (Can. 186.2);

¹ See also in Gröber's Grund. I. 630. ² Vermeesse-
siet. du Patais - wall. 5v. ³ Loria - Dieb - Lieg-
franz. s.v. ⁴ Hornig - Zeits. für Rom. Ph. IX. 494.

These forms were derived by Storm¹ directly from viduus, and viduare. But, besides the difficulty arising from the change of meaning, the etymology it would fall. For these reasons Schuchardt² does not accept Storm's originals, and gives the bases as *voctum, and *voctare from older forms *voctus, *voctitus, *voctare, *voctitare.
Thomsen³ also considers these forms as the originals, and later, Dieck⁴ came to the same conclusion independently of either of his predecessors. Accepting these as the bases, the present form of Cechy is derived in the following way: - voctum > voctum > voiete > voite > vuoidu > vuid > wid.

¹ Romania II, p. 327

² Romania IV, 286.

³ Romania IV, 287 et sequentes.

⁴ Archivio Glottologico Italiano III p. 370.

In Cechy the Gothic balvarēseī¹ has become nauvé. According to Diez², this has developed as follows: the corresponding adjective must have been balvarēseī > balvēseī > balvais, and by the change of b to m through crossing with male, = malvais. Then the l was vocalised to u giving mauvais, - the form in French. This for the Cechy form has developed in the same way. Before the u united with the a to form the diphthongue o, the v was assimilated to the u giving mauvé = nauvé.

-
1. I give the original suggested by Diez as the question still remains in statu quo, this origin neither being accepted nor replaced by a better suggestion.
 2. Wörterbuch . S. V.

Treatment of f.

(a) Initial f. remains as in French.

clonem ~ flō; panem > flāc;

fidem > fué; facere > fuér;

feminae > feur; fortem > for.

O.Pic.: femme (Aue et sic. 2.33); faire (2.32);

fors (2.9); fuér (Amiel 49); fil (id. 126); faus (id. 130)

In certain cases initial f. is changed to b:

1. In the 1st and second person plural of the present indicative of facere: bzō, bzi.

2. In the whole of the Imperfect Indicative of the same verb: bzué, bzui, bzui, bzuem, bzuet, bzuet

3. In the 1st and 2nd plural of the present subj. of the same verb: bzōnē, bzēē.

4. In the present participle bzā.

5. factatorem > bzō.

An example of this change is found in Paillard's

Lettres picardés¹ :- "n'ien beoait que rire". This transformation is not found in Anon, but occurs in the Evangile selon St Math. :- "Bze donk pénitens konm i feu" (3.8). In the Cél. Mar. these forms with initial b are not found, but they retain the f :- feziàn (47). In all earlier Picard texts the initial f remains:

It thus appears that initial f is changed to b, only when it is followed by z. This change is due to physiological causes, and the principle of least exertion, when f is sounded, the upper teeth rest on the lower lip, and, in order to pronounce z after f, it is necessary to draw the upper teeth back, and rest them on the lower ones. But this very position, with the lips closed, is the very one they occupy when on the point of pronouncing bz.

¹ cited by Corblat - Glossaire p. 78

Hence the position of the lips and teeth, when at rest, is the one necessary for the production of f_3 , whereas the production of f_3 requires the considerable action of the muscles in the mouth, before shown.

(b) Intervocalic f ? remains, as in French.

defendere > defind; elephantum > éléfā

O. Pic. defendre (Mis 6.1.; 152, 12); defier (Bar. 1865)

(c) f after n and x remains, as in French.

infantum > ēnfā; infernum > ēnfer;

infirmitas > ēnferm; perfectum > parfait.

O. Pic. :- enfant (Anc. et Nic. 11.2); enferm (Bar. 65.6);

parfait (id. 204, 11); parfait (id. 57, 12)

The Dentals

Treatment of d.

(a) Initial d remains, as in French.

dentem > dē; digitum > dai;

donare > doni;

So also in Pic.: - doit (Ansel 2); desvoie (id. 34)

dame (Anc et Nie, 6.36); dient doi (Bar. 92.8)

(b) Intervocalic d falls as in French.

pidare > pji; nodare > nōi;

redere > vir; laudare > lui

The voiced dental first became ɖ, and in the first half of the twelfth century this sound was gradually lost¹. It had fallen in Picards before the time of the Reclus de Mallesmes (1180+), for in this work Van Hamel finds it kept only in one case - sudor (Bar.

¹ Suchier in Gröber's Etymologies I 581. ²

238, 10), beside snour (Bar. 80.8). He considers the first of these a word of learned origin.¹ In all later Picard texts it has everywhere fallen.

(C) Final d falls as in French.

nudum > nö ; pedem > pji ; caudam > cö ; cadet > cé²

Before falling, the voiced dental fricative became the voiceless dental, t, and this fell about the same time as the original t.^{2,3} It fell at the same time as intervocalic d in the first half of the twelfth century.⁴

(d) Intervocalic dr.

credere > kruér ; claudere > klor ;

¹ Van Hamel - Reclus de Melles, CXXXIX, ² Johann-Ennemann, § 46. ³ See treatment of original final t. p - ⁴ Suchier in Böker's Grundriss I. 581

videre + lucere > vuehé; ridere > rir;

adretro > arjer.

The dental was assimilated to the r, giving rr¹. In the patais, in all cases, the two rr's have coalesced in rrr, and have become z. In the flexis the writing varies between r and rr except for the future tense where rr is invariable except in rire². In the opic. texts the same is the result; — in the future the rr is kept: rrrés (Auc et Nic. 6.42); rrroie (id. 14.19); rrra (id. 4.16); rrrai (Par 139, 9; 140, 2), while in other cases the writing varies between r and rr: — arrière (Mis 172, 11); deriere (Auc et Nic. 12, 16; 30, 3); desirer (Auc et Nic. 39.36); enelome (id. 12, 25) & uient (Aniel 211)

1. Corne - Roumania III, 367

2. id.

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(e) In the patois of Ouchy d is not interpolated between l & r, and n and r

tenereis + diem > vēnrēdi; malore > mōl;

tenerum > tēr; tenere + labeo > tārē;

venire + labeo > vārē; valere + labeo > vōrē

This is characteristic also of the O.Pic. and distinguishes it from the Norman and French.
vaurait (Auc. et Nic. 1.1); vauriēs (id. 32.8);
vaurait (id. 33.10); vauront (Ch. du Venn. XXII.41)
tennent (XXII.16); tenrait (id. XXIX.14); tenne
(Mis 134.9); tenrière (Par. 4.11);

(f) d before consonants is assimilated to the consonant as in French, and then falls.
ad + portare > āportē;

ad + captare > ākāti; advenire > āvniē.

The assimilated element had already fallen in O.Pic.: menes (Par. 47.2; Mis 1.9), porter

"Luchier - Auc. et Nic. p. 8.

(Con. 230,3; Alis. 108,8); aportis (Alis. 138,3);
aventure (Que et hie, 20,24); aval (id 12,18).

(y) Final d after or, falls.

prehendere > preu; neundum > mē,
rendum > fē.

Thus d is often kept in O.P.F. words; but
when final it became t :- prent (Que et hie,
9,11); prendue (11,10); mont (id. 6,9,13); and
also monde (id. 22,31; 24,53); fondue (Con.
158,5)

(2) d after r is kept as m'French.

tardare > tārdi; per + donare > pārdoni;
O.H.G. warten > wārdi.

O.P.F. :- border (Que et hie. 7,15); corde (id.
12,14); tarder (Con. 153,2); gander (Alis. 68,1).

In the case of perdicem > pertri,
the d too became the voiceless consonant t.

The same change too also taken place in
Wallonian — dictai¹, dictro. The form dictis²
is cited by Littré from the D.G. of the thirteenth
century.

The change of d to t had, therefore taken place
at a time when final e in the cluster re was
still sounded, and the change is due to the
analogy of other words ending in re e.g.
tre maître; ... in tr — a combination much
more common than dr.

Treatment of t.

(a) Initial t remains as in French.

tenere > tnir; terre > tr,

tardare > tardi; telare > tuél

Pic: — terre (Can. 26.9); tens (Nis 171.1); tout

(Oisel 366); tolu (id. 343),

In tremere, the initial cluster tr has been

¹ Toni-viet. Littré-Franc s.v. ² Littré-Franc s.v.

changed to -ke as in French.

L. Paris remarks¹ that similar changes to this take place in other languages - the Catalan and Provençal in which the forms paine, maire, cannot come from patrem & matrem, but must come from later forms *paeum, *maeum. He neglects to notice, however, that, in Provençal, maeum does not change the z to c but has maier. Now the change has taken place as still unexplained.

(b) Intervocalic z falls, as in French.

amatam > émé; rotam > rō;

rotundum > rō; contatā > kāntē.

This z first became d, then z - the former it had at no time of the thesis; - and then fell at the same time as original intervocalic d, - in the first half of the twelfth century².

¹ Romania III, 384. ² Suchier in Völke's Handbuch I, 581

This had fallen in all cases before the time
of the *Recueil de Wallons* (1180): *joornées*,
desaornées, *raornées*, *ratornées* (Par. 5.);
roond (Mss. 260, 9; 98, 7); *entule* (Par. 6, 10)

(c) Final *t* falls as in French.

natum > *né*; *amat* > *ém*; *maritum* >
mari; **perduktum* > *perdoē*.

Final *t* fell in French in the first half of
the twelfth century¹, and in Normans at the
same time². In Picardy, as well as in Wallonia
and Lorraine it was retained later than this
especially after *te*³. In Pic. et Nie. it is
still preserved in *jut*, (14, 6, 14) although it
has fallen in *entendu*, (61) and *berdu* (24, 39).
In the *Char. du Venm.* (1200-1250) final *t* is in
a state of transition. After a consonant

¹ Suchier in Höfer's *Grundr.* I. 581. ² Suchier -

Reimpredigt xix

³ Suchier - *Pic. et Nie.* p. 58.

It is beginning to fall' - 5^{es} (X1.8). It is still kept between original vowels in the endings et, iet, it, ait, ut². In the Aniel⁽¹²⁹¹⁾, final t is still kept after a tonic vowel.³ Final t was, therefore, preserved in French till the end of the thirteenth century, — a century and a half later than in Norman and French. It fell first in Picard after an atonic vowel, and was kept longest after a tonic vowel; in amat it had fallen in the Reclus de Mellicus; aine (Par. 3.9); but in dechat in Aniel (234).

The French words of learned origin - gastrite (gastritum), and nitrate (nitratum) have been introduced into the spoken but the termination te has been changed to k.

¹ Neumann - Lach und Flexionslehre im altpau. 102.

² id. p 103.

³ Loison - Aniel p. Xx1.

- gästrik, nätik, after the analogy of the adjectives ending in t sp. komik etc.

In the future situm too followed the same course as other words with final t, and has become sui It had already fallen at the time of the Rechts de malins! - sai (Par 92,10; Hls. 133,4; 152,5)

(d) tt becomes t.

mettere > met; butticulam > butel;

mettame > met

o.Pic. :- metre (Aue et Nie. 4,21,23); metent (id. 26,22)

cat (Par. 230,7); combatre (Hls. 169,10); crete (Par. 137,11)

(e) t after consonants remains as in French.

ruptum > rut; pantire > pärtir;

pantum > port; dictum > dit;

cantare > känti.

o.Pic. :- paistre (id. 20); droiture (id. 21);

portē (Aue et Nie. 2.4); portēs (id. 10,11);

planter (id. 14,22); lainture (Hls. 87,10).

... 4v. + ...
S was always indicated by z, this transcription is not found in Pie.. In duc. et ric. the letter z does not occur, and ts is always indicated by s - partes (10.53); serpens (2.8); bianches (2.16) etc.

The majority of rhymes in the Chov. as II Esp. show a separation between z and s².

In the Aniel z is not found, and, although in the Ch. du Veru. ts is generally represented by s, z is occasionally found, auziz (XLIII.6); deleziz (V.28). But in this work z has the value of raised s, as is shown by the transcriptions: - couzines (XLV.19); coziz (XLII.8); deuziz (V.20); miziz (V.58)

¹ L'Aniel - Chov. as II Esp. LIII.

² id.

The Sibilants

S

(a) Initial S remains as in French.

sapere > sáwéé; sarum > sāē;

solum > sōl; securum > sōr.

Opic.: sawait (Aniel 243); seris (id. 24);

some (Rich. à Beaus. 40); sirez (id. 81)

* suctiare has become sūsi^v. Although I do not find the word in any Opic. text, the form must have been, following the analogy of other similar words, - suckier. The change of the initial S to s^v is due to the assimilating influence of the s^v; the second syllable in the first. A similar influence has taken place in French chercher.

* soriciam has given sōrs^v 'i'. The second s^v has had an assimilating influence on the first in the same way as in sūsi^v.

* soricane > sōrki. The initial S has been changed to s^v from analogy with sōrō^v.

Initial sp, sc, & st are treated as in French
 *stelum > étuel; spinam > épin,
seutum > ékü.

The earliest example in French of the impure s
 is spele (Eulalia 22) in which the prosthetic
e had not yet developed. By the time of the
 Alexis, however, it had developed both after
 a vowel and consonant. Suchier¹ says
 the e developed from the passage of the s into
 the next syllable, and that it originally had
 the sound of i or a sound near i.

In all the O.Fr. lists this prosthetic e is
 always found: escole (Mis. 25.1); eserine (id.
 236.8); esperer (Car. 30.8), estelee (Ch. du
 Renm. IV. 10); estale (Anc. et. ric. 24.87).

In the development of this prosthetic e the
 patois of Cauchy has gone farther than the French,
 for it has developed it in estatol (statua) -

¹ Prolegomena Germanicae I. 579.

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a word of late introduction into the language,
this prosthetic ravel has fallen in some parts
of the wallonian and Lorraine bordering on
German territory¹.

(6) Interoceanic s remains voiced $s_{\text{an}}^{(=s)}$ in French.

causare > pozé; misam > miz;

causam > köz

o. Pic. pozé (Car. 97.2); present (Nis 110.8)

devisé (Auc. et Nic. 5.3); misé (id. 5.1).

In the Ch. du Veru., however, this sound is
sometimes represented by z; — coze (XII.8);
früze (V. 5.8); roze (XXII.3).

(C) Final s falls, as in French.

misum > moë; risum > ri;

sponsum > épu &.

In the sixteenth century final s was
always pronounced before a vowel or

¹ Suchier in Enders's Grundriss I. 579

before a pause¹. For its pronunciation in other cases Palgrave² gives the following rules:
1. When a word ends in two consonants, of which the first is neither m, n, nor r, the first consonant is mute and the second is pronounced: coups, louis are pronounced kuz, luz.

2. When a word ends in three consonants of which the first is m, n, or r, the second is mute, and the first and last are pronounced: chants, corps are pronounced chānz, kɔrz.

3. When a word ends in three consonants of which the first is neither m, n, nor r, the two first are mute and the last is pronounced: faictz is pronounced fɛz.

¹ Darmesteter at Hatfield - Le Lit. Soc. mtr. p. 217.

² Palgrave - Eclaircissement de la Langue française pp. 24-25

From the commencement of the seventeenth century final s was mute after c, f, l, r.¹ There are some words, however, in which final s had fallen much earlier. Dammstedt² finds that in the two Hebrew-French M.S. of the Vatican, of the end of the thirteenth century, final s had fallen in les, ces, ties, and also in sans, vers, nos.

(d) s before a consonant. falls as in French.
vestire > vötir; justare > juti;
castellum > kätpö; bestia > bet.

The fall of this s began in the twelfth century.³ There are already cases in the Oxford Roalter in which this s is mute⁴, and Förster thinks it first fell before l and n, but in other combinations continued to be pronounced.

¹ Gherot - de la Pom. franç II. 66. ² Romania III. 473 +.

³ Suchier in Gröber's Germania I. 586. ⁴ Förster - Chet as II Esp. XI. note.

later than this work.¹

In the Recueil de Hallucis s before a
Consonant is beginning to disappear. It
has become mute before m in the termination
-isme². In this work s is generally pronounced
before t. Beside strophes in -aist, (Mis¹⁷³). There
are some in -aît the terminations -esté,
estés, -eté, -etés, -oust, -ousté, -out, -oute
are found. The Carité has two strophes in
-ist, and three in -it. The Miserere has
six strophes in -ist, and ten in -it.

There is thus a beginning of the suppression of
s before m, before t, in the accented
syllable after i, in the atonic syllable
after e³.

In the Chevaliers as II Exp. s is mute
before a consonant.⁴

¹ Förster - Chev. as II Exp. LI.

² Van Hamel - Rec. de

Holl. CXLIII.

³ id.

⁴ Förster - Chev. as II Exp. LI

Neumann thinks it became more somewhat later in Picard than in the Norman texts from which Förster draws his conclusions, but thinks it was more in the Ch. du Renaud, of the first half of the thirteenth century, although it was still written. A strong proof of this is that he finds it interpolated where it has no etymological justification¹.

In the Hebrew-French M.S. of the Vatican, of the end of the thirteenth century, s has fallen everywhere before a consonant².

Respicere has become resplici in the patois, and the name is resplic. In both these words the s has been inserted from analogy with words of learned origin in which s before a consonant is kept. cf. respiri & rheumatismum has become rëmatik.

¹ Neumann - Laubmann Flexionslehre im altfranz. p. 105 et seqn. ² Danneberg - Romania III. 473

the termination has been changed after the analogy of the names of other diseases ending in ik sp. i- gāstrik, kolik etc.

(e) Vowel + ss + vowel. This combination gives voiceless s as in French,

missam > mes; passare > pási;

massam > más.

In O.Pie, the ss is found :- massa (Par 70.6);

message (id 59.3); messoner (Par. 131.6);

messe (Anc et Nic, 29.11); passer (id, 11.22.)

(f) z is treated in the same way as in French,

zelosum > Zála

V

(a) Initial n remains so in French.

naeum > ni; nomen > no;

nudum > nö

of Pic.: - nasel (Aue. et Nic. 10, 26); nair (id. 12, 28);

nobille (Rich. de B. 22); nouviello (id. 92),

the nommare > loni, the initial n too

became l. So also in numerum > lünéro

the same change too taken place in Wallonian.

Louné¹, Louneer². The change of l to n is

seen in Fr. & niveau. Here the change is due

to dissimilation³. The change from n to l

in the interior of the word occurs in Fr.

fonfalon, and ophelin.

Louaneau says the change of n to l in the

words loni and lünéro is very old, and

¹ Loni - dict. Liège-Franc. s.v. ² Lijant - dict. du

Wallon de Mons. ³ Dugue - Romania IV. 383. ³ Glossaire s.v.

cited from a text of the thirteenth century.
"Et les II autres gestes doi^z l'oumer
m'orés" - Gauviers du nord.

In Pachy, scholau normale has become
échal formäl. The change here is brought
about by assimilation of the n to the
preceding l. It is probable that the
change of n to l in the two words
loni, and li-méno has been brought about
in a similar manner, - by the frequent
occurrence of a word ending in l before
these words.

(b) Intervocalic n remains as in French.

minare > mini ; sanau > sen ;

vnire > vnir ; plenam > plen.

Spéc. :- demaine (Can. 122.5) ; denier (id 86.6) ;

tenir (Can. 132.1) ; plenier (Anc. et Nie. 8.9).

¹ Glossaire - s.v. l'oumer.

In oplainum > opfolē, the n is changed to l through the principle of dissimilation as in French.

(C) n before r.

tenerum > ter; tenire + habeo > uare;

tenere + habeo > tare; minare + habeo >

mare; ad + minare + habeo > amare.

The n is assimilated to the r giving rr which coalesce in sound to r

Neumann cites a case from the Ch. du Veru. in which this assimilation had taken place, — terrait (XXXIX.14). So also in the Recl. de Mall. terrai (Par. 149.12). But generally the assimilation had not taken place:

tenunt (Ch. du Veru. XVI.16); tenunt (id. XLII.7);

terrait (XXI.9); tenroient (id. XXII.26);

vinrent (Rec. et Vie. 27.17); tenier (Par. 48.4)

When the r is final it drops before assimilation takes place: — cinerem > ĭen;

ponere > pon.

One of the characteristics of the Picard is that d was not interpolated between n and r:
tenue (Obs. 134.9); teurai (Anc. et Ric. 10.55);
renrai (Chen. as II Exp. 7406); renuous (id. 3978);
 and examples just given from the Ch. du Vireu.
 Rarely the d is found, under the influence of
 the dialect of the Ile de France: clendee (Mis 6.9);
 _____, _____,

(d) final n after d falls as in French.

infernum > enfer; diurnum > jour;
hibernum > iver.

In the Brandon, and. Confictus Corporis et
Animae, this n is still retained², and in the
Reimpredigt there is only one case where it
 has fallen³. (jos 4. Honor 58). It had, however,
 fallen in all cases before the end of the
 century, and does not appear in the

¹ Suchier - Anc. et Ric. p 58.

² Suchier -

Reimpredigt xxv.

³ id.

Recl. de Mall. :- jauer (Car 11, 9) ;

(2) n before a labial remains..

nivallare > Enali ; infernum > Enfer

E.g. enbler (Auc. et Nic. 6, 10 ; 20, 27) ; enbler

(Car. 110, 9) ; inferum (Car. 68, 6)

At the time of the Recl. de Mall. the pronunciation of m and n was the same after a nasal vowel¹, hence enbler is the same in sound as enbler.

(3) In many m & n intervocalic

damnaticum > domāz ; feminam >

feu ; dominam > dām ; seminare >

smi.

The n has been assimilated to the m giving mm = m in sound.

This assimilation had taken place by the end

¹ Van Haevel - Reclus de Mall., CXLII,

of the twelfth century, for in the *Her de moll.* we find fame (Car. 219.10); dame (Mis 137.4). So also in the *Que. et nie.* damage (29.33); dame (id. 6.36); damoiel (id. 20.10); feme (id. 3.12), beside femme (id. 2.33)

(g) r before a dental remains as in French
rendere > rënd ; rentum > uē ;
viginta > uē ; rendere > rënd.

O.Pie.:- rendre (Que et nie. 10.36); volente (id. 4.18);
rent (Car. 130.8); rente (id. 229.10); rendre (Mis. 186.2).

(h) r after any consonant except m or n remains as in French.

juvenem > žon ; asinum > an ;
galbinum > gân.

O.Pie.:- jonet (Car. 196.9); geüne (Mis 128.11);
gaine (Car. 49.2)

(2). n in the prefix ns falls ... in French.

sponsam > épuz; mansionem > múžō;

Monasterium > Mōtjēr (the name of a

Commune just north of Idicus); personae -

pzi and pēnei; Constantiacum > kōntēnsōē.

It falls in words of popular formation, but is retained in words of learned origin. So this latter class belong the two names of places given above, and pēnei. In this case the n had already fallen in old Latin, but by recomposition and analogy the n was, at a later time, frequently replaced¹.

O.Pic.: pser (Pan. 120.2); epous (Alis 262.8);

maisonie (id. 129.8); maison (Arc. et Nic. 30.6);

maustier (Alis. 156.10) - this is of popular formation, while the name of the Commune is of learned formation.

¹. H. Meyer-Lübke in Göhrer's Grammatica I. 365.

(f) Interpolation of n.

maionem > mānšō¹; pipionem > pēnžō²

An example of this interpolated n is cited by Du Cange¹ from the fifteenth century, — sonjons. Examples of this are also found in French — longonete², engrot³, sygrande⁴, sygauricus⁵.

Treatment of m.

(a) Initial m. remains as in French.

manum > mā; mettere > met;

mēnzi; mica > mi; mansionem > mūzō¹.

O.P.C. :- mont (Aniel 14); maistae (id. 19);

meseneaus (id. 68); mont (Aue. et Nic. 6. 9).

As in French, initial m has become n in napapan > nāp. The same change has taken place in mesopileum, which in Fr. gives nēfle. Changes of ~~other~~^{reverse} kind, in the interior of the word occur

¹ Du Cange - s. v. ² Buge in Rou. IV. 383. ³ Lucbert - noms de lieu p. 24. ⁴ id. ⁵ id.

4. venimeux, charme, latineux.

In the Wallonian the original m is still retained —
maif.

In the following words initial m has been
changed to g: missingam > béçeng; mitanum +
bet > bit-ēmbu; The O. Pic. nitāeld has become
litāhld, and morniflc > bornif.

For this change I see no satisfactory reason.

(6) Interrocalic m remains as in French.

maurum > imur; mantem > imā.

Lumanum > imā.

O. Pic. i: aine (Cue. et Pic. 19.11); alunus (id. 17.13);

amor (id. 2.16); lancautaut (Bar. 152.9).

humanité (161, 216.8).

(7) Final m. Its influence remains in
nasalizing the preceding vowel, as in French.

rem > rē̃; exanem > exā̃;

racemum > racē̃; fanem > fā̃.

¹ From dict. lary. franc. 1880.

In 19th c. in S. Fr., it became n as rain
(Ore. 32), rain (Ois. 162, 3); rain (Ois. 157, 2);
rain (Oue. et Ric. 11, 14).

(d) m before a dental becomes n as in French,
it is partially assimilated to the dental.

semitarium > señti; comitem > kont;

neam > neam > kont

This partial assimilation had already taken
place in S. Fr., i.e. señtier (Ore. 323, 8); konte
(Ois. 42, 7); konte (Oue. et Ric. 2, 34)

(e) m before a labial. Where the labial
falls, the m remains; where the labial
remains, the influence of the m remains in
nasalising the preceding vowel.

ambam > ám; templum > temp;

imperium > impe.

As the combinations vowel + nb, had, in S. Fr., the
same sound as vowel + mb, we find both m

and n in the same text: januis (die. ethic. 2.11),
tans (id. 2.85; Ben. 238.3); tempeste (Ben. 130.3);
temper (Alis. 23.8).

(9) The Latinism -annam. The m as assimilated
to the n, as in French, and these coalesce in
sound to n. Columnam > colōn; Januinam >
Janōn

(10) m after n remains, as in French,
dormunt > dōrn, arma > ārn
annum > ānn.

C. Pic. sermon (Ben. 72.2); annuere (Alis. 93.11);
lanmaier (Alis. 58.2). In dormitorium, after
the fall of the pretoric vowel, the medial
element m, in the triple combination of
consonants, fell, as in French, giving dortuēr

Latin l remains as in Greek.

lunare > lōn, lavare > lānē; librum >
līn, relinere > līn.

OPR., lauris (Auc. et Nic. 5.38); lit (id. 6.21);

liure (id. 40.22); lie (Cœ. 88.3); lentis (Cœ. 110.8)

In luciniolum > orishu, the l has become
r as in Greek. In Auc. et Nic. lie l is still

kept:- lorsicrol (12.6). In the interior, and at the
end of a word, this change of l to r is common
in Greek:- épître, chapître, arête, corpél¹.

The change was already known in Latin²

lenticulus (Plin. Hist. Nat. 16.1) - lenticulus (id.) lenticulus (Cœ. 110.8)

= linearis (Plin.)

From lutare, a frequentative verb lutāre,

was formed in the future, after the formation

¹ Altered by Little (Lat. form. 1.1) from the Thirteenth C. C.

² lenticulus - Cœ. 110.8. lenticulus (id.)

Since in the niveau (Niv. livel), and ...
... dissimilation ... the same process
cannot have caused the change in the two words
given from the putais.

(a) ... coronelle ... coronelle ...
... coronelle ... coronelle ...
... coronelle ... coronelle ...

The coronelle ... become coronelle
coronelle > coronelle.

The forms coronelle, coronelle, coronelle were
very frequent in the French of the sixteenth century.
Littré¹ cites the form coronelle from ...
This is the form of the word in the putais of ...³
The form coronelle is due to the principle of
differentiation, - the l being changed to l to
differentiate it from the final sound - l.
In coronelle, the l becomes l by being assimilated to the

¹ Littré - Dict. franç. s.v. ² id. s.v. ³ id. s.v.

preceding l.

In the following words l has been changed to r through the process of differentiation: urulare > ürli; calculus > kärkül; calcularo > kärküli. The form querculant is cited by Litke¹ from Bus. Deschamps.

complicetum gives kompře. The l is probably changed to r through crossing with the öpie, prore. The change from l to r is extremely rare in these texts, and I find only two examples: it in those which have survived restrenne (Ch. d'Arden. XXXVIII.38); lirechollo (id. XXXV.4).

In the following words the l has fallen without leaving any trace:

elemosyna > ámone; aleuane > án. Förster points out similar cases of the fall of the l before a Consonant in the Chv. as II Esp.: clavacie (10426); amone (10786); gues (5751); nos (8408).

¹ Chv. as II Esp. XLVII

Is also in the Ch. du Veine. :- ad (xiv.2); mus
(xv.2); Guillaume (v.18).

As l regularly falls before a consonant in the
Eastern dialects, this is probably due to their
influence on the Picard.

(c) Final l after a labial falls.

tabulau > taur > tab ; expulau

söp ; templum > Leimp.

taue (Quinon. Sub. I. II. 11); étave (id. I. II. 7); resibe

(id. II. 15); impossibe (II. 16); taue (Pél. nos.

Suite. 629). In Picard. texts earlier than this

it is still found :- uniable; auirable,

auitable, merchiabile, durable, plorabile (Car.

127); dampnavles (Aniel 321); pardonnavles

(id. 322); auitarles (id. 63); veritarles (id. 64).

It fell here owing to the difficulty of sounding
the final liquid after a labial.

(d) l after m falls.

in + simul > ĩnsã; tremulare > trãni;
simulare > sãni.

traces (Quinon II.42); sianan (Luth du Cól,
Mar. 40). In earlier texts it is kept:
sanler (Alis. 309.10); sante (id. 83.4);
ensonle (id. 122.7); santler (Aue. et hic, 32.19).
The l falls in this case in the patois for the same
reason as after a labial.¹

(e). Final l after k falls, for the same reason
as in the two preceding cases.

miraculum > mirãk; spectaculum >
spectãk; oraculum > orãk.

(f) l before a vowel is vocalized
to e as in French.

pulsum > põ; culum > tõ;
altum > õ.; caballum > gvo,
valere + habeo > vorẽ

¹See preceding page.

The earliest example known of this vocalisation of l is found in a list dated 1024¹. In the *Atlas* it is not yet vocalised², but the process was completed during the twelfth cent.³

In the *Recueil de millions* it is ex. ry archaic vocalised before a consonant⁴ and in all later Record lists: *temporans* : ans (Mis. 51); *l'aut* : s'esvant (id. 103); *fius* : pius (Car. 62); *aucun* (Car. 39.9); *auke* (Car. 74.6).

(4) Transposition of l takes place in *puceulau* > *bluk*. Here the liquid has been attracted by the labial. The l in this word is already transposed in the *Cher.* as *II* Esp. :- *blauke* (3022; 4143). Attraction by the preceding consonant takes place in Fr. *san* to *l*.

¹ Such in Gröber's *Grundriss* I. 552. ² *g. Paris-Atlas* 101. ³ Such. in Gröber's *Grundriss* I. 552.

⁴ Von Harnel - *Rec. de Moll.* c. x. 2.

(h) Agglutination of L. in the prefix of Luxern corresponds to French Luxembourg. This is a case of the double use of the article. The first, owing to its close connection with the name, became part of it, so that the popular mind lost consciousness that it was the article, and used a second one. The same takes place in French le lendemain, and le lierre.

Location of R.

(a) Initial R remains as in French.

rahien > raï^h; rationem > réjō^h; rem > rpē.

o.p.c.: - repost (Auc. et Nic. 20.3); raïne (id. 2.39);

retour (Car. 94.2)

(b) Intervocalic R remains as in French.

annum > ânî, annam, lîr;

carum > êr; volere > valuer

o.p.c.: - mirabile (Auc. et Nic. 8.4); maurent

(id. 6.31); mir (Car. 23.2); merite (Mis. 194.3).

In the patois Cathédraue & too became käpél,
meaning a chair.. Jaucoux' cites many
cases of caïelle from the inventories of the
sixteenth century. But the older form appears
to have been caïere. This is cited by Jaucoux
from a document of Suicous of the fifteenth
century, and is the only form found in the
Reclus-de-Molliens (ibid. 193.3).

Jaucoux quotes from a document of
the north east of the year 1340: "une cayère et
plusieurs bones et sielles". The substitution
of the l for the r in käpél is, no doubt, due
to a crossing between the old form cayère
and siello, or selle (the latter being the pure
Picard form) from sellam.

In Cathinam > kätlen the r too became
l.

In the following cases r too been changed.

¹For interchanges between l and r see treatment of l

to l by the process of differentiation:

lucrum > lil; ultra; lucrum from lucrum;

ammorium > ornocel; fragrans > flérji.

(c) re is simplified to r

terram > ter; uram > ur;

the simplification of double consonants was the rule in O.P.O. texts¹: fourure (Chev. as II Esp. 231); eulera (id. 1025); tere (367); guere (Aue. et Ric. 2.1; 6, 34). The double consonant, however, is frequent: guere (Can. 55.7); uere (id. 26.9)

(d) Final l after a labial falls.

labrum > lev; arboreu > ab; librum >

lv; leporu > jōo; vivere > viv,

fièvre (Cim. Sat. II. 42); ieue (id. II. 43);

ferue (id. III. 44).

In all the O.P.O. texts it is preserved:

¹ Förster - Chev. as II Esp. XLVIII.

liure (Aue. et Nie. 40.22); leure (id. 24.19);
viure (Car. 4.3); saure (Hus. 41.2).

In arbores > ab, the r drops both before, as well as after, the labial. This is found in the dialect of the Ile de France in Rusthauf: - "Li arbre despaillent lor branches", and in the O. Pô. in Raoul de Cambrai²: - "Vait sur ces laubres ces aiseillons chanter". The r has also dropped in this case in marmore > mab, - a form which is shown by the b to be an introduction from the French, and afterwards modified. The r before the inserted labial falls in marmore, and in arbores in the Wallonian. ahc³, ahre⁴, mab^{5,6}, mahier⁷, the same forms are found in the Chev. as II esp. ahre (6180), mabre (4878)

Cited by Littré - Diet. franç. s. v. arbre. ² id.

³ Sigart Diet. du wall. de nous s. v. ⁴ Littré, du pat. de Lille p. 7.

⁵ id. ⁶ Vermeesse - Diet. du Pat. wall. s. v. ⁷ id.

(e) Final e after a dental falls.

serdene > serd; alterum > öt;

magistrum > met; mettere > met

maist' (Cui. Sat. I. 4); culō (id. I. 28); 4'preine

(id. I. II. 3); preinn' (id. I. II. 19); minde (II. 38).

It was retained in O. Pic. texts: estēdne (Cui. et
nic. 18.9); bakne (id. 30.4); defendne (id. 5.16);

autne (id. 2.28); aistne (Mis. 54.7); apraindne (Can.
64.9). In the French spoken language, ^{ind} nt

after a consonant, and especially after a
voiceless consonant, is on the point of falling.
In the patois of Chabry it has fallen both after
voiced and voiceless consonants.

In intēa > ēntēa, and contra > kōntōa, the e
has not fallen, but an e has been inserted,
between the t & a, by the process of epenthesis
to render more easy the pronunciation of the
difficult final combination ta.

¹ Siegen - Franz, *Phonetik* p. 52.

(14) In naître naître & naître
naître & naître, naître &
naître; naître & naître.

In this combination the z has been intercalated
between the s and r as in French, and final
r has fallen as usual after the dental.
The z was also inserted and the final r retained
in O.P.C.: - naître (Van Dael - Hist. p. 428);
connaître (id. p. 389).

(15) In masculin & marl.

The s has been changed to r, the r for
s in this word is also found in the Wallonian
dialect. Change of s to r occurs in the Prov. as
II Esp.: - larle (2674); forterne (9679). This
change is also found in O.P.C.: marle,
merle, varlet²; in Catalan³ - fontanna; in
Portug.³ - crine

¹ Verneuse - Hist. du Vab. wall. 24. marle. ² ibid. 239. ³ id.

this change is very frequent in Provencal:
almoona, azenmar, emonda, gleisargue,
ravassor, yrle, imelament, dinat¹.

this change must have taken place in French
before z became silent.

In French z has two sounds²: - the guttural z
made in the back of the mouth, and the lingual
z made with the point of the tongue. It is
the latter of these sounds which has been
substituted for z in these words³. This z is
widely spread in the south of France, but is
very rare in the centre and north of France⁴.

In bullans > biul, the z has either been
changed to the lingual z, - a process rendered
easy by the close physiological relation between
these two sounds, - or the z has been

¹ Paul Meyer - *Rom.* IV, 188. ² Meyer - *Frang. Phonetik*
p. 50. ³ P. Meyer - *Rom.* IV, 182. ⁴ *Id.*

interpolated, as frequently took place in O.Fr.
before a consonant: arme (An. et Nic.
6.22); pertuis (Chev. a. II Esp. 4191); armors (id.
5964); carborniers (id. 9274); urportes (id. 1080)

(4) In firmare > ferre, the r has been
attracted, by the preceding labial. R is the
most movable of all consonants in the Romance
languages, and is most frequently attracted
by initial t & f¹. Cf. It. dento, fragare,
stampo, Zioste &c; Sp.: erolo, fraguar; Port.:
fermoso; French: brebis, breuvage, fromage,
trèmper, troubler; O.Fr. fermer, brejier &c;
O.Fr.: aprecait (Chev. a. II Esp. 888); herbrefence
(id. 3541); ferment (Ch. de Valmer. XXI, 2);
ferme (Bar. 168.4).

Attraction of r by the following consonant
takes place in granarium > germifé;

¹ Leitz - Grammatik I. 223.

ronneulane > gerneul; Vol. grêdus:

gerdê; Germ. Krausel > gerzöl

This also occurs in the other Romance languages:-

It. Cocodrillo, faustico; Sp. corchele,

perche; Prov. perche

This attraction also takes place in the Lorraine

and Wallonian dialects:- Lorr. guernepe²,

perhé², perneille², beurle²; Wallonian:

guernier³

Treatment of H

9

It is chiefly in the initial aspirate in onomatopoeic words, and in exclamations,

that the patois of Cechy differs from the French in its use of the aspirate:

In words of Latin origin I am not aware of any difference between the usage of the

¹ Diez I. 224 ² Adam - Patois Lorrains p. 42.

³ Verneux - Dict. du Pat. wall. 5. v

patais and French. The same words have
dropped the initial aspirate, and the same have it.
If pure Picard words Corbillet gives fifty-eight
that have an initial aspirate, but all of these
are not in use in the patais of Cauchy.

In the following interjections there is an initial
aspirate:- Heh = an exclamation expressing disgust.
Hu = id cry for drinking pipe; Hé = An
exclamation to make horses go to the right.

And in the following onomatopœic words:-
Haënhi = do endeavor; Huhu = A species of
owl, the cry of which has given it its name.

C. before e, i

(a) Initial C.

centium > ċē : crem > ċrē;

conetorium > ċintper, cinerum > ċen.

On the development of palatal C in Picard there are two theories: Meiz¹ considers the ċ a later development brought about by the desire for a greater separation between C & S. Jonet² considers that the Picard too stopped at a stage through which the French also, at one time, passed, the French C is a development of this complicated ċ.

The physiological development of the sound, must have been along the following line:

k > kj > ċj > ċ > ċ'. It does not seem

to be doubted that both French and Picard

¹ Grammatik II. 460

² C dans les Langues romanes. p. 25.

were at one time at the stage t^h. The initial dental sound vanished from this in French at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The French never got to the stage t^h, or it never could have developed the sound s out of this. The Récord was already at the stage t^h in the thirteenth century², in Anc. et Mod. This sound is always written with c:

ceise (12.22); cerf (18.27); ciel (34.87); cite (17.19). In the Rec. de Moll. it is written ch, which, according to Dieckler³, had the sound c^h: chertes (Mis 76.11); chense (id. 67.12); chertuin (Car. 129.11); chele (id. 5.6).

In the Aniel c before e or ie from original a had the same sound as c before original e or i, and this sound is sometimes represented by ch, but generally by c⁴.

¹ Schwann - Grammatik p. 88. ² Dieckler Anc. et Mod. p. 61 ³ id. ⁴ Zoller - Aniel xx1.

Zobler thinks that this e had either the sound of modern French eh (ɛ'), or the sound of English eh in church (tʃ)¹.

The Chev. as II Esp. is not consistent in the transcription of this sound, as it is represented both by e and eh².

The evidence of the patois seems to be against the theory of Jacob, for according to Suchier³, e, before e or i, never had any other sound except tɛ in any of the D.Fr. dialects except those of the North East, and e' of the O.Pic. and its later development ɛ' have developed out of tɛ, and are not intermediate between that sound and k.

(6) vowel + e + e or i patois

racinum > ruézɛ; reinum > ruézɛ

¹ Zobler - Aniel x x / . ² Förster - Chev. as II Esp. 2111 . ³ Förster's Guineas I. 580.

dierbat > digé ; micellum > uégjác.

this gives β as in French.

(C) vowel + e + e or i post-tonic.

decene > di ; nucene > nui ; exucene >

kru ; pacene > pé.

According to Sieut¹ these two categories (b) & (c) both give the same result in O.Pic., viz: is, but, whether the s was voiced in the former case and voiceless in the latter, he does not state. He also finds cases in which e + e or i gives ch or c, but these he considers words of learned origin²

A characteristic which distinguishes O.Lr. from O.Pic. texts is, that while in the former the final combination e + e or i gives β, in Pic. it gives is.³

¹ Sieut - Ueber Lat. e vor e und i in Pik. p. 14 et seq.

² id. p. 18. ³ Luchie - Anc. et Mod. p. 61. ; Von Harnel

Ree. de Mall. cxxxvii; Sieut - Op. Cit. p. 16.

*Dacnustetis*¹ develops this as follows:

placere > placiere > placiere > plajcere >

plaitzir > plaisir (= plaezir). But in this he
needs to show how plaitzir could develop from
plajcere. This was rejected by Harnung who
proposes²: - ratjonem > ratsonem > rattonem >
radzonem > raison (= raezō)

g before e or i

(a) Initial g becomes ʒ as in French.

gelare > ʒli; gentem > ʒē;

gentilem > ʒēnti:

This must have developed along the following
line: - g > gj > dj > dʒ > ʒ. In French the
dental sound was lost at the beginning of the
fourteenth century³. For the Anc. et Nie
Suchier⁴ cannot decide whether it had the

¹ Romania III. 387, ² Geschichte des Lat. I p 10.

³ Schwabe-Grau, p. 88. ⁴ Anc. et Nie p. 58.

Samml. \ddot{z} or $d\ddot{z}$.

In gingivae > sensiv, both the initial and medial g have become s. Diez¹ explains the Fr. gencive by the principle of dissimilation. It is probable that the same change has taken place in the patacs, and that, afterwards, the initial z was assimilated to the second s. If the form gencive could be found in an O.Pic. text, it would furnish proof of this method of change. This explanation supposes that the principle of dissimilation was stronger in the old language than the principle of assimilation, and that the reverse is the case in the modern patacs, - a supposition which involves too wide a field of investigation to discuss in this work.

(6) Vowel + g + e or i.

frigidum > frei; digitum > dei;

¹ Grammatik I. 270

pagenseum > puéizã; magistum > met¹.
The g fell, as in French after a parasitic i
had been developed before it.

So also in O.Pic. :- fruit (Aue. et hic. 6.31);
fraille (Id. 7); roïne (Ms. 260.1); roi (Bar. 30.1).

In the patois religioneum has become
relizjô; and *chirurgianum > sérurziê.

This change of the palatal to a sibilant also
takes place in other Romance dialects. For the dialect
of Geneva Littre¹ gives elusion. In the Venetian
dialect z is the only result of g. - argento², In
the Sicilian it becomes c', ancilu³. In Spanish
it becomes s after n and r :- arsen, arsilã³.
In Provençal the same change takes place as in
Spanish³. From O.Fr. diez⁴ comes eslonziê
(éloigné), and atarziê. In Wallonian it
is changed to z in arzieu⁵.

¹ Dict. franç. s.v. chirurgien. ² Diez - Grammatik I. 269.

³ id. ⁴ id. p. 270. ⁵ Forer - Dict. Lièz-frang. s.v.

the change from $\frac{u}{z}$ to z is due to physiological causes. In both cases the sound following it is a front vowel. $\frac{u}{z}$ is produced by closing the teeth and pressing the back part of the tongue against the back part of the hard, and the front part of the soft palate, and expiring a current of air; it is, therefore, sounded partly with organs in the back part of the mouth, and partly with those in the front of the mouth. z is produced entirely by the action of the respiratory organs, and the action of the organs in the front of the mouth. Hence the change from $\frac{u}{z}$ to z is produced by the principle of least action, by employing simply the organs in the front of the mouth, instead of combining these with the action of those in the back part of the mouth.

No Post Palatals

C before a

(a) Initial C, pretanic remains unchanged
cantare > kānti; calefiare > koŋe;
carpentarium > kəpəntʃi; cancellare >
kānšile, caricare > kərci,

In the O.Pic. texts it remains before an a which
 is preserved: - caitif (Auc. et Nic. 1.2); canis (id. 18);
caviar (id. 2.12); acatā (id. 2.29). In this text it
 also retains its Latin sound (k) before an a
 which has become e or ie, although the
 transcription varies from c, qu, k, the former
 being the most frequent: - corquies (26.17),
aforhent (19.7); ceval (2.19); cévalier (2.28);
baceler (2.31). In the Amiel it always remains
 with the sound k². In the Cher. as II Eop. k, c,
 and ch are found for c + a³. In the Rec.

¹ Luchien - Auc. et Nic. p. 57.

² Goller - Amiel p. xxii.

³ Förster - Cher. as II Eop. 2111

de moll. c, before a which remains, has the same sound as c before a which has become e or ie¹. It is preserved also in the Ch. du Veru. before a or a which has become ie² :- ceat (V.2); camp (V.8); caubee (VII.3); bakelers (VI.2); estevins (VI.4). In the Rom. de la Viol. Janet finds the Latin c represented, both by c and ch, - fifteen times by the former, and forty by the latter³. In many other lists he finds the same variation and concludes that c was used in the original, and that the many changes to ch were due to the later scribe, and that those are the most authentic M.S. in which c is preserved⁴.

In the following words initial c has become q :- caballum > qvo; *catulian > qatuli;

¹ Van Hamel - Rec. de moll, cxxxii. ² Neumann - Latin und flexionslehre in altran, 75. ³ Janet - Q dans les Langues Romanes 223. ⁴ id. 229.

* cafo di culure > gâquili; carduum > gârd; and the verb formed from this word, — gârdi. This change of c to g is found in the Wallonian, — Dégatouéti, gâde². Janneneux³ cites gâde, and gâder from inventories of the eighteenth century. The change of c to g has also taken place in the other Romance languages⁴: It. Gactâ, gambro, gastigari, gatto, gabbia; Sp.: gambro, gamella, gato, gavia; Prov.: gat and cat, gahia. In French initial c has become g, although not before a in gonflez, gabélet, glas, gras. As a medial this change of c to g is quite frequent in all the Romance dialects⁵.

(b) c in the Combination Const. + ica. becomes g as in French.

¹ Venuesse — dict. du wall. s.v. ² Littré dict. fran. s.v. cande. ³ Glossaire, s.v. gande. ⁴ 2003. Grammatical I. 244. ⁵ Id.

indicare > ɔ̃siʒi; judicare > ʒüʒi;

graniceam > grãŋʒ; naticam > nãʒ.

Förster remarks¹ that this is one of the peculiarities which distinguish the Ile de France dialect from the Picard and others: while the former has as the result of this combination $\frac{3}{2}$ the Pic. has $\frac{4}{2}$; - herchie (Chev. as II esp. 7974); encarcie (id. 3953); decachier (id. 10593). He says that the Picard, however, must have been vacillating between $\frac{3}{2}$ & $\frac{5}{2}$, and that this is shown by the occurrence of such words as: sayies (5008); mengainque (5344); blegues (5779). The sound $\frac{3}{2}$ too became universal in the northern patois, except in the following words: calicene > kaléi; canem > épē; canicare > kencé; mencatum > mārcé. There are semi-patois forms, and the change from c (=k) to

¹ 4: r. l. - Chev. as II esp. 214

c' is due to French influence. In Que. et Né.
the t is still unchanged: cien (10.27);

cerquier (26.17). The sound c' in these
words has developed along the following line:

t > tj' > tj' > ts > ts' (= c')

(C) c in the combination vowel + c + tonic a,
where the preceding syllable has a secondary

accent:- neare > neéj'; paare > puéj';

implicare > impluéj'; locare > luéj'.

As in French, the c fell after a parasitic i
had been developed before it.

(d) Cons. + c + final a

blancam > blānk; museam > muk,

seccam > sek; baecam > buk; vaccam >

vuk

5. Pic.:- blanke (Mis. 58.6); bouke (Par. 75.6) Mis.
42.12).

In North Normandy also c before a remains

unchanged, as in Picard¹. Jonck says the population of the district in the north of Normandy in which the Picardians is chief, of Norse origin. This is shown, he says, by their physiognomy, and by the etymology of the majority of the names of places in this territory². But before the Norse were established in this territory it was already inhabited by another Low German stock, — the Saxon Franks³. The language spoken by these Low Germans kept the original Indo-European guttural, while the High German tribes which peopled that part of French territory in which it became S changed the Indo-European guttural to a spirant⁴. In the Norman-Picard district the Latin language was spoken by Low Germans, whose mother-tongue kept the guttural, and they kept it in their adopted language;

¹. Jonck — *Des Peuples Normands*, p. 113.

². *id.* p 177. ³. *id.* p 171 ⁴. *id.* p 172

in that part of France in which k became s,
High Germans, whose mother-tongue changed the
guttural to a spirant, changed it also in the
adopted language.

g before a

(a) Initial g remains

gambam > gām; gardenum > gārdē;
galbinum > gān.

R. Pic.: garbe (Mec. et Ric. 2.11; 12.25), gardin (id.
4.21); garbe (Ber. 105.3), gaber (id. 72.2).

The same causes which preserved Latin c
before a, must have caused the preservation
of g before a.

In gangraenam > kāngren, the principle of
dissimilation has caused the change of g to k.

In Ber. braude > L. *gaudam > hōd, and
gafum > hōf, the patois has an initial

" Jonet - Sur Patois Normand. p. 174.

aspirate. This is not a change of g to h, but, after the initial g, an aspirate sound was developed giving gh, and then the g dropped. It is the same process by which Latin words with initial f, have developed h as the initial sound in Spanish :- f > fh > h :- ferrum > hierro ; filium > hijo.

(6) Intervocalic g.

laganum > le ; sagnum : se ;

ligare > luji ; fugare > fui.

As in French the g falls after a parasitic i has been developed before it.

The Velars.

C.

(a) Initial C remains as in French.

cursum > kur ; corua > korn ;

codam > kö ; cornum > kor.

In the patois initial C has become é in

coquere > cūir consuere > cōd; calligere > cōlir. These have developed after the analogy of words with initial c + e or i; but the latter have developed one stage further than the former: $c > k > k' > \text{ʃ} > t_s > t_s' (= c')$

(6) Interoceanic velar c falls, as in French.

secunum > sör; *placuntum > plö;

foecum¹ > fōt; jocum > žōt; locum > lōt

In O.Pic.: fu (Anc. et Nie. 4.8); seür (Car. 60.10);

seü (Mis. 208.9); iü (Car. 88.3); giü (Car. 62.4).

In the patois acutum becomes adžui, and acutiare > adžüizji. In these words the velar c must have changed first to the medial velar q, and this q then developed in the same way as g before e or i: $q > q' > d' > d_s'$.

In O.Pic. the medial velar is found: aguisier (Anc. et Nie. 8.8; 16.24); agu (Car. 43.7); aguisier (Mis. 133.12)

¹ For a detailed treatment of these words see p. 75

(c) cc after the accent falls

sacrum > so; secum > se, «secum» > ac.
in the Rec. de Bell. the final guttural is still retained :- lae (Car. 51.7; Mss. 19.5).

(d) Initial c before r or l remains, as in Fr.

crecum > crui; credere > krui;
claudere > hlor; clarem > hle.

In cribrum > grib; and cladium > glöd,
it is changed to the medial guttural - g.
The same change has taken place in Fr. glas.

Before g.

(a) Initial g remains, as in French

guthame > gut; gustare > gut; gubernare
> gugerni

O.P.E.:- golouzen (Mss 204.2); gucroier (Car. 31.8);
gonés (Auc. et Mss. 13.10)

(b) Intervocalic g falls, as in French.

augurium > ör; augustinus: ö

Præ.: enne (Par. 100.5); maleſine (Par. 13.3).

The Spirant ʒ

(a) Initial ʃ' remains ʒ as in French.

jam > ʒo; juvenem > ʒon; locum > ʒœ.

In the fatāis junieem has become vénis'. This change is due to a crossing between ʒénis', — the form we should expect, — and vāk

The Labials + yod.

(a) b + yod. - rubeum > ruž; libium > liž;

ambiane > kānʒi; rabium > raž;

*sabium > sāž.

According to Selmann¹ this gives a double result in French: in certain cases, he says, the labial produces a parasitic i before it

¹ Grammatik p. 64

and then falls; in other cases it becomes $\frac{u}{z}$.
 Mussafia¹ thinks that this $\frac{u}{z}$ has regularly become
 $\frac{u}{z}$ and that the exceptions are to be explained
 by the influence of analogy. The patois has
 developed exactly as the French, and the
 exceptions to Mussafia's rule are the same: - In the
 patois: - se, dei, e - 1st person pres. ind., and 1st
 person pres. subj. of lucene. G. Davis² considers
 that the form e comes from ajô for the indic.,
 and aja for the subjunctive. Harming considers
 the form se to be modelled on e.

B + god has developed along the following
 line: - $\frac{u}{z} > \frac{u}{z} > \frac{u}{z}$.

(6) u + god becomes $\frac{u}{z}$ as in French.

caucane > kiz; akho-viane > ibrézi;
servicantine > serzi

¹ Romania xVIII p. 547.

² Quoted by Mussafia - Rom.

xVIII. p. 544. ² id. p. 547.

the only exception to this in the patars is pluviane > pluv. Here the v is retained from analogy with plöuvier. The form pluve¹ is cited by Littré from the O.Fr. of the Thirteenth century. The v+yod has developed in a manner similar to b+yod :- vj > vj̃ > j̃.

- (c) p+yod. becomes s̃^u as in French.
sapiam > sās̃^u ; adpropiare > āproš̃i^u ;
repropiare > roproš̃i^u.

The only exception to this is pēnjō. The p before the yod in pīpionem must have fallen through dissimilation before the transformation of p+yod to s̃^u commenced. P+yod has developed thus :- pj > pj̃ > pj̃̃ > s̃^u.

Mussafia² considers the O.Fr. receif an analogical form on the type receis, and derives it from recepto. The corresponding

¹ Dict. franç. s.v. ² Romania XLIII. p. 546

form - roui - of the patois must be explained
in the same way,

The Dentals + god.

(a) D + god.

① gaudia > g^ué ; medium > m^ué ;

odium > p^uôé

(2) diurnum > d^uur ; lordaue > or^uz ;

perleam > p^uer^u.

This, according to Mussafia¹, has given z in
French, but he does not explain the numerous
cases in which it has not given this result.

Schwamm² thinks it has developed in two different
directions: in the one case, it has fallen after
developing a parasitic i before it; in the other,
it has developed from dj > d^uz > z. The
patois also shows a development in two
directions, but resulting from analogy with
the labials + god, and z + god, the probability

¹ Romania XVIII. 544. ² Grammatik 65

is strong that Messiaen's theory is correct, and that the exceptions are to be explained as due to some cause still unknown.

(6) *Pictavié* 'I + god becomes *z* as in French.

rationem > ruézō ; aentiare > adžūizji ;

potionem > puézō .

In *Pic*, this was written with s or ss¹ which had the raised sound *z* : raison, saïson, païson, païsson, saïsson, liuison, liuissōns², the transcriptions s and ss are found for the same word by *liçant*, and in the same list, thus showing that as medials s and ss had the same value in *Pic*. This is contrary to the opinion of *Joest*³ who says ss was voiceless, and s raised as medials.

'I + god has developed thus: ty > ts > tz > z

¹ *liçant* - Usher Lat. *c* vor *z* und *z* in *Pik*. p. 9.

² Cited by *liçant*. *op. cit.* pp. 124/3 ³ *c dans les Lang. Rom.* p. 126

(c) tractum > trās ; plateam > plās ;
petia > piēs ; faciam > fās ;
servitium > serviē ; glacium > glās .

In the Ch. du Vème, Neumann¹ finds both ch and c as the product of this, and thinks these two signs had the same sound in all cases, viz: $\frac{u}{\gamma}$, and that this is the universal product for Picard texts. One exception to this, however, is gras, which Sieut² failed to find as grās in the texts examined by him², and which is not found in rhyme with ē in the Reclut de Mall.³, and which was wrongfully introduced as grache into the Alexis by G. Paris, into the Aniel by Tobler, and into the Congies by Raynaud. Mussafia⁴ considers that the non-occurrence of grache in Picard

¹ Neumann - Laut- und Flexionslehre im Altfranz., p. 79.

² Sieut - Ueber Lat. c & vor e und i im Pk., p. 21.

³ Van Hamel - Recl. de Mall., p. cxxxii. ⁴ Romania XVIII., p. 131.

shows that it is not a word of popular origin.

Mussafia considers that t + yod always gives the same product, whether pretanic or post-tanic, and that Greek forms with the termination -ece come from -ecja'. This, of course, implies that the Picard forms ending in -eche for the old tists, and ē for the modern patois, came also from -ecja. But it is bold to demand, and hazardous to admit, that all such forms as defiance (Mis. 158.10), destinee (Car. 112.12), fiance (Mis. 188.7); fore (Mis. 111.7); agueche (Car. 194.8), came from the ending -ecja.

- (d) n + yod after the tonic syllable.
vineau > ven, lingau > lin;
pingau > pen, plongau > plan,
componiau > ſāmpān.

Here there is no mutilation of the n.

¹ Romania xvi. 111. p. 531

Sāmpān is a semi-patais word in which the moulliation of the n has been dropped in accordance with other words in the patais. In the French Paul Passy¹ says n has four different sounds :- (1) n formed on border of the hard and soft palate, and without any after-sound f, as in raen. (2) the genuine palatal n formed on the hard palate - like the It. gn, and Sp. ñ, as in raenj. (3) Nasalized f, as in raenj. (4) nj with a weak palatalized n as in raenj.

In this last case the French language has thus reached the point where moulliation has almost disappeared. In the post-tonic position the patais of Cacky has reached the point where it has entirely disappeared.

This had not taken place at the time of the Celebre Marriage, for, in it, the moulliation is

¹ Phon. Stud. I. 37 ff. - Cited by Beyer-Fran. Phon. p 48.

indicated by gn: Pigne (3); pigne (21); nigne (22).
 In the Rec. de Moll. n is always separated in rhyme
 from n', both in masc. and fem. rhymes. In
 pretenses, however, they are found in the same
 rhyme na: metaignier: grenier (Par. 210).
 Instead of n, n' is found in desclaine in
 the Chev. as II Esp. (1461), and n' for n in the
 same text in digner (1587).

(e) Pretense n + yod; becomes n' as in French.

* lineaticum > lināz'; unionem > o-nō

(f) As in French n + yod in the post-Fauic
 syllable has had a double development.

extroneum > étrānz'; lineum > lēnz';

franeum > grānz'.

L + yod

(a) Post-tonic -l + yod.

battalia > bätel; folia > föl; dolium > döl; consilium > könsel; vestialia > vätel.

(b) l in the termination -iculum: - soliculum > solēl; pariculum > pärel; oriculum > ürel.

(c) Post-tonic ll between vowels

bellat > brel, angellam > ängel,
molliat > mul;

(d) Pre-tonic ll between vowels.

bellatis > brili; mollatis > müli;
bullianus > bujli.

The exceptions to this are the infinitives ending in -ir, in which there is no moullation of the l of bulir, folir etc.

It thus appears that the patois of Cechy has everywhere given up the moullation of l after the tonic accent, but has preserved it

before the same exception: the case noted.
In Cimon maulliation is found just as in
French, if his mode of writing may be taken
as an indication of the usage: soucil (II.53);
pareil (II.54); travailli (III.6); ourcil (III.77);
pareilles (V.53); travail (VI.2); Breuil (VI.8);
bouvreuil (VI.6); accueil (VI.10).

there is no reason to believe that in D.P.C., the
maulliation of l was different from the usage
in French. In the Chev. as II Esp. l is
represented by l'¹: salut (873); faloit (1531);
fermal (4800); traval (10744)

In the patois of Lille there is no maulliation
of l: they say²: mervel, konsel, famil,
andul, pâtrul, buli, föl. This rule, says
LeGrand, has no exception.

In the patois of Liège, however, maulliation

¹ Förster. Chev. as II Esp. XLIX.

² LeGrand - dict. du Patois de Lille, p. 6.

l appears to take place as in French :-
bataie, firoie, fiou, Loiou, foie, foiiston¹.
(here i = l).

In the French of the sixteenth century, — especially by the grammarians of that time, l̃ was indicated by lh, and the pure liquid l by l, and ll except after i. For many of the words which, in modern French have l̃, the grammarians of that time give two forms one with l̃, and the other without mutilation, e.g., the following forms are cited by Thurot, on the authority of sixteenth century grammarians :- regalissent, jalir, je bouilis, j'ay bouily, je bouillisse, ie bous, bouillu, tailis, trilis, maillet, milet, pilon, regalaridier, ralout, gentilome, piacer, pirole, medale, mestivales, groiselle, aigule, aigulon, desabeler, citraille, rouler

¹. See Thurot - de la Pron, Langage II, 301 f.

senwale, naules. From this it appears that the loss of maellation of el was very extensive in the sixteenth century, in the French. Now for back the loss of maellation in the Sonne gacs, the want of Picard's grammars, and the inaccurate mode of transcription used in the lists, prevent us from ascertaining. But the Picard was probably influenced by the French of that time; and whereas, of the double forms, one with maellation, and the other without it, the former triumphed in the French, the reverse has been the case in the patois of Cachy, and in this patois, this tendency was strengthened by the loss of maellation in n after the laine accent.

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